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The purpose of this workshop was to work out sound, practical means of promoting better intergroup communication in American cities and improving community action on hard-core unemployment and other problems of the urban poor. Frustrations and aspirations of ghetto people were illustrated in a film. Panel interviews and an audience question session were held with Negro youth leaders. Prepared papers, summaries, and remarks were offered on psychological, social, and other factors in urban unrest; the need for indigenous ghetto leadership; leadership through ghetto self help in Detroit; manpower and consumer potentials of the urban poor; recruiting and job coaching of the hard core unemployed in Chicago; and accommodating employer entry job requirements in Missouri. (The document includes references; research data on 17 indicators of future urban violence in several dozen high probability cities; and statistical data on labor force trends, variation in unemployment rates, incidence of poverty, proportions of Negroes in major cities and regions, educational attainments of Negroes, occupations of nonwhites, income growth and distributions, and consumer expenditures.) (ly)

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PROCEEDINGS

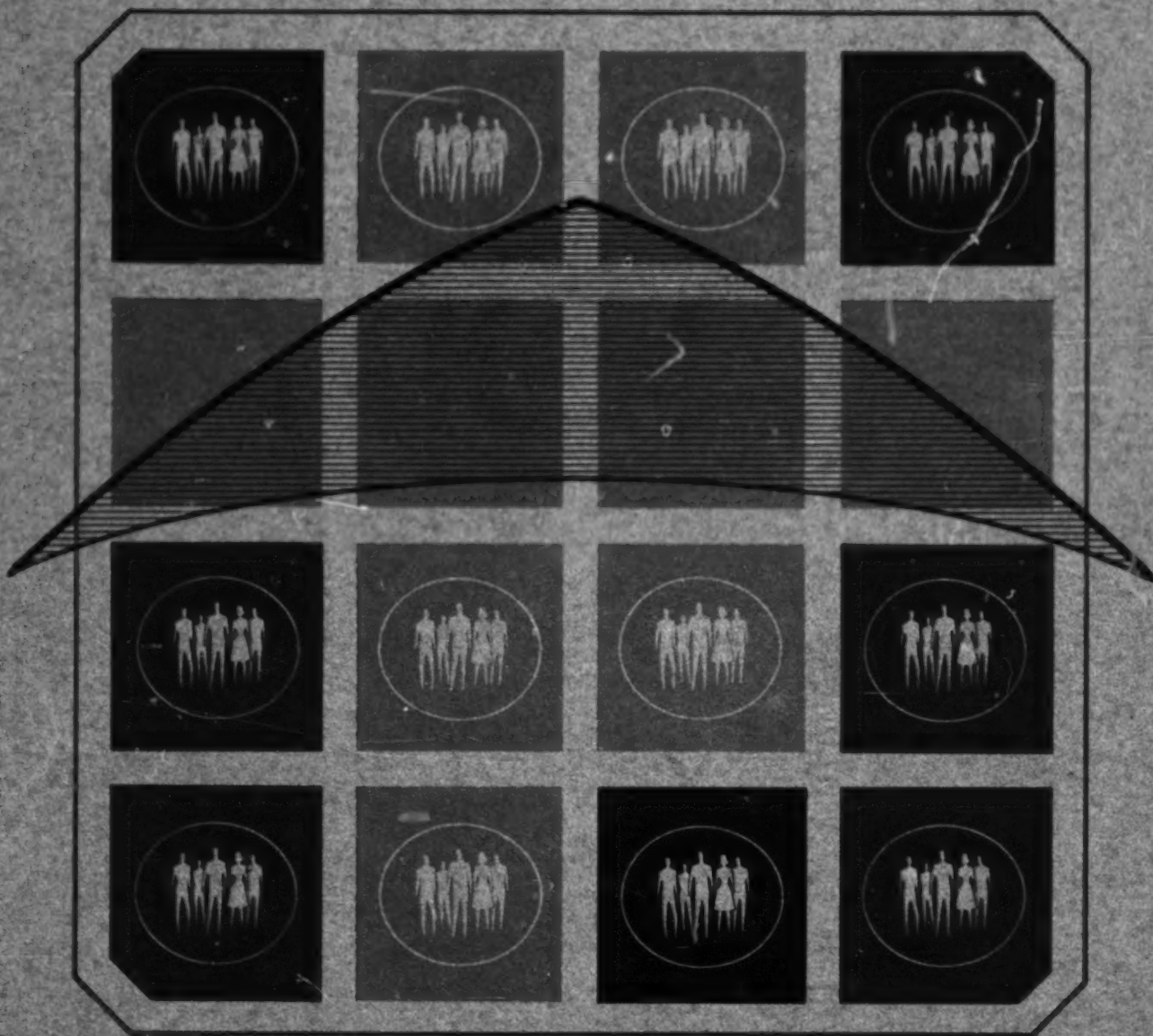
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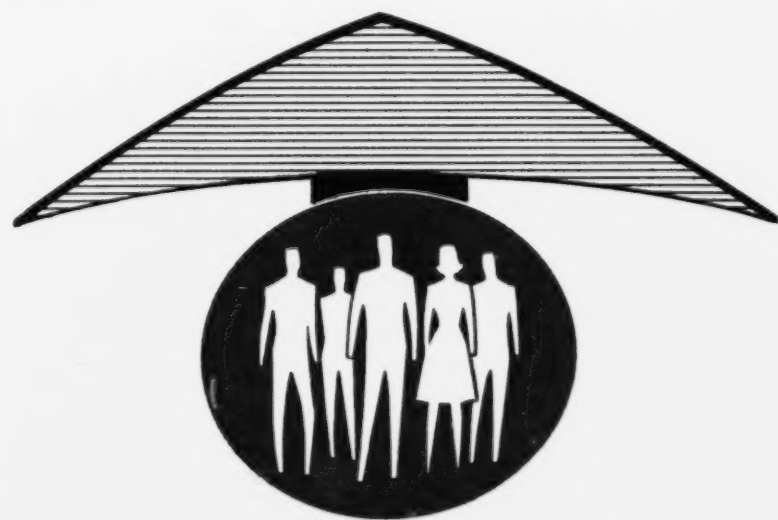
PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL WORKSHOP ON



MANPOWER AND CONSUMER POTENTIALS

THE URBAN POOR

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PROCEEDINGS

March 26, 1968

MR. BOOTH: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

We here at the National Chamber welcome you to this "Workshop on the Urban Poor: Manpower and Consumer Potentials."

You are a select audience. You have been especially invited, and we are very glad you are here.

This should be an interesting, informative, stimulating meeting. I think it would not be too much to say that it is probably one of the most important meetings that the National Chamber has ever held.

There will be a penetrating discussion of one of the most basic—certainly one of the most vitally important issues of our times—the problems of the urban poor, both black and white, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and people from Appalachia, whom you will find in some large cities in the north-central part of the country.

All of these people are Americans, and we are concerned about all of them.

Now, it has seemed to us, in preparing this program, that we need to ask ourselves some pointed questions. For example, why do we have the problem of school dropouts and of juvenile delinquents? Are we discriminating wrongly against people with police or criminal records? Is our welfare system contributing to, or detracting from, the high aspiration of dignity for the individual in a free society?

How can business provide youths and adults, who are lacking in skills and in training, with hope, encouragement and a productive job?

Well, we must, in short, address ourselves to the questions of the hard-core unemployed.

And because there are certain aspects of this whole situation which are unique to the Negro and to the Negro ghetto, this workshop will tend to concentrate on the problems of the Negro.

Simple stated, our purpose at this workshop, today and tomorrow, is to achieve a better understanding of the Negro problems. And understanding can only be based on truly effective communication. And that is what we have provided for.

Our purpose is to find and to learn how to apply sound, matter-of-fact methods to promote better communication among all segments in each American community.

That might be enough, but this workshop will not end there.

Out of it, we are confident, will come effective community action toward the solution of the problem of joblessness of the urban poor.

Now, attendance at this workshop, as you of course know, was by invitation only—invitations to businessmen who are members of the Chamber.

And in your invitation, you will recall there was mention of the fact that, at this first day's session, the working press would not be represented.

This was done to encourage free and frank, open and uninhibited, discussion and exchange of ideas to achieve a better understanding of black Americans by white Americans.

Hence, newsmen and reporters, radio and television people, were not invited to this session.

You will notice on your program that two of the men on the interviewing panels are associated with news media. But don't let that cramp your style.

These men fully understand our objectives. And they have agreed not to write any stories or articles based on today's discussions until the Proceedings of the workshop are made available.

The full discussion of this workshop, today and tomorrow, will be stenotyped, and a copy of the Proceedings will be mailed to you as a part of your registration fee.

And now, as the first step in achieving a better understanding of the problems of the Negro ghetto, we are going to show you a motion-picture film produced in Newark, New Jersey, last summer by National Education Television shortly after the riot there.

National Education Television set up a public meeting of people concerned with the riot, and filmed three hours of back-and-forth discussion about the causes of the riot.

For the television audience, the film was cut down to 90 minutes, and we have further condensed it to illustrate aspirations and frustrations of the people who live in the Negro ghetto.

As you would expect, they are concerned with poor housing, poor education, joblessness, and lack of communication within the community.

But they also express views and attitudes from which I believe we can learn much.

They have the feeling, for instance, that, because they are black, they are thought poorly of, they are not respected, they are not listened to, they are not properly represented in the city government, their interests are disregarded when public improvements are planned and carried out.

This film will help each one of us understand more fully how these people feel, and why they feel as they do, about matters which should be taken into consideration by the business community and others in developing constructive action to solving problems at the local level.

Let's look at the film right now.

(Film presentation.)

ANNOUNCER: In the past few weeks, America has experienced some of the worst violence in its history. City after city, large and small, in all parts of the country, has been torn by civil disorder. In order to try and understand what's happening and to put it into perspective, NET went to the scene of one of the first and worst riots this summer—Newark, New Jersey. We invited some 200 people, a cross section of that community, to come together and discuss the problems that divide them. We are about to show you excerpts of that meeting. What you will see and hear will be about one city, Newark. But because the underlying causes of the riots are the same in every part of the country, we feel that the people of Newark have a meaning for all of us. Our moderator in Newark is Leon Lewis.

MR. LEWIS: As we begin our discussion, I think we should remember that the problems that caused Newark's violence remain, and that the only real and valid question is: Where do we go from here? I'd like to ask that question of the gentlemen on my right. He is assistant to the mayor of this city, Mr. Malefronte, where do we go from here?

MR. MALEFRONTE: Well, I think the first job is to put together the pieces of a functioning government, to once again determine where all of us went wrong. I think in distributing blame, the mayor has put it quite clearly. We are all to blame. It is, I think, very easy to blame outside agitators, and certainly persons from outside our city were arrested. But, I don't think such is the problem at all. I think that the riot was a lawless act. The governor so declared it, and I think that most of us feel that way. But nevertheless, at the bottom of an act like this, is a cry—for help. People, I don't think, participate in riots, as so many in our community did, unless there is a genuine and deep feeling of dissatisfaction with the city—with the way things are going in the city—and with our society. I think that we in Newark will pick up the pieces, not only for our city, but for American society. There is something amiss in American society—something which affects all cities perhaps now, but which essentially comes down to, I think, racism in American life and what to do about it. It's clear to all of us in Newark that, no matter how we tried, we didn't try hard enough, and that no matter what we did, it wasn't enough. There is the rising expectations of Negroes who have waited too long for equality in American life. I think there have been festering problems in housing, education, jobs—which have gone too long unsettled.

MR. LEWIS: I wonder if we could ask Mrs. Marion Kidd to give her views on—where we go from here? Mrs. Kidd.

MRS. KIDD: Well, for number 1 it's to go into the ghettos. Go in there where the poor people is. As I was coming down here this afternoon, I was looking at people sitting around in parks—actually having nothing to do—and I believe this is where, you know, it all began, because people without a job, without work, people without satisfactory homes—they build up ideas of where do they go from here—and as you say—where will we go from here. We need to get out and go up into the Central Ward. And not just sit down and talk about what we're going to do for them—but go up and let them tell you what you can do for them, and what they can do, because they know what they want to do—but it's just the idea they don't have the things to do it with. I live in the ghetto. Many people ask me—what is the ghettos? What is the grassroots? Well, I'm one of them. I'm one of these people that live there. I travel through it every day. I walk through it every day. And as you come through it during the day, working with people, you don't have to stop and ask, you can look at it on their faces. You can look at it in all the people. The homes that they live in. As I say—we need to stop talking here and go up there—'cause sitting down here is not going to get it.

MR. LEWIS: Thank you, Mrs. Kidd.

ESTA WILLIAMS: You said that you were concerned about jobs, right? Well, I think you have to get an education first before you get a job, right? Now, if you read this book about automation—deals directly with cybernation, and you know automation is going to take the place of manpower, right? Now, the lady from the Woodway section—she stated the conditions in the Woodway section was bad. Well, I live in the heart of the Central Ward, Belmont and 17th Avenue. If you think the conditions are bad in the Woodway area, they are even worse in the Central Ward. Now, I tell you—they have kids going to the high schools, reading at the fourth and fifth grade level. Now, when they come out of a high school and they go in there reading at the fourth and fifth grade levels—when they get a 12th grade diploma, what level are they reading at now. Our high schools are producing kids that can't even fill out an application to apply for a job. So I think we got to get some quality education.

MR. CORWIN: There is a second very specific item that the community is tense about. And that is the plan to build a medical school in the Central Ward of Newark, eventually covering 150 acres. It's very fine to define all of these tensions and problems in terms of sociological terms about unemployment and how we have rising expectations and all that. But we have some very specific problems that deal with the immediate situation. Despite what the mayor has said about charging that we are politically motivated people who are opposed to the medical school, there is a large segment

of this community that will not tolerate a medical school—taking 150 acres of land in the Central Ward, when we know there are not adequate plans to house many people who have been relocated from other projects in the city of Newark.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Corwin, would you tell us how taking 150 acres of land would affect the people of the city and why they oppose it?

MR. CORWIN: Yes. The entire medical school project will eventually dislocate over 20,000 people in the Central Ward area. The record of the Housing Authority has not been successful in relocating families that have had to move from areas that have been redeveloped in the city. And therefore, we do not have adequate housing today. One of our greatest problems in this city is housing.

VOICE: If he'll look into my face good and hard, he'll remember me—being down at the mayors office and he said there is a lack of communication. I would like to let him know that we sat in front of the mayor's office with him whispering in the mayor's ear and told him, the mayor, that if he didn't do something about the Med site—because we have the irate fathers who did not know where they were going to move their children to—and if he didn't do something about the Board of Education because we had the irate mothers who did not know what type of education their children was going to get. There are people on the Board of Education—with children sitting crosswise in the school seats—books that were outdated they had before I went to school—writing on both sides of the paper—and you sat there and told me you were paying \$6 million to build a warehouse. For what? And my children can't get a good school building. You sat there and whispered to the mayor when I said if you do not do something about this, there will be a riot in Newark. And the mayor said to me that he didn't think the Negroes in Newark were organized enough to have a riot.

And I said—since you are representing the mayor and the police chief, you catch it all—and next time bring them with you, you can divide it up. Now, in as much as you told me that you didn't think—the mayor told me we weren't organized enough to have a riot, what organization did you need for a riot? I came down there speaking for the boys—I have 17, 18, 19 or 20—16 years old, and you tell me there is nobody representing them? What do you want? Those boys to come into the mayor's office and do what they did downtown? It can be done. Then, on top of all that, you all made the statement—you, the police chief and the mayor—made the statement that we had elected him in office for four years and so the Med site was going up because he was the mayor. Not what we wanted! You talk about communications—how can you get communications between me and you when you got your ears

closed up to what I'm saying, and I've got to bother with what you're saying?

MR. MALEFRONTE: I think that one of the most over-rated matters under discussion is this lack of communication between people. I think there is a lack of communication. It's between everyone here whom I know by their first names—who have communicated many times. There have been failures of communication and it is not all between city hall and the police department and the ghetto. There has been a failure of communication between the so-called leadership around this table and people in this room—most of whom I know—and the people whom they contend they speak for. There have been failures of communication all along the line. Newark is not speaking out here, not at all. The persons who rioted, I believe, are not in this room. I don't believe there is a man here who honestly speaks for those persons who rioted. We here are persons concerned about Newark, who care about Newark, come out here and speak and voice all the sociological and deep differences that are between us and so forth and so on. Nevertheless, I believe that communication certainly has failed. But it is not only between the police and the community, city hall and the police and the community. Communication failure is one of which I think all of us around this table must plead guilty, because we are all the so-called self-appointed leaders and spokesmen. The people who rioted, I'm afraid, we don't speak for. There was a group out there that none of us could reach. I think that no city administration anywhere in this country has spent as much time talking to people as we have. We talked to the wrong people. We didn't talk to the people who rioted—and I include those around this table, because the people out there who caused the trouble are 17, 18, 19 year olds. There wasn't anybody speaking for them. The problem is—who is going to reach them?

MR. LEWIS: Well, now who has a direct? I'll recognize this young man—if you'll tell us your name, please.

MR. LOFTON: My name is Oliver Lofton, I'm director of the Regional Services Project, and I don't look upon this antisocial behavior as a riot. First of all, in my judgment we have to understand the fact that we are now reaping the poison harvest of 300 years of history. And what we really see here is the voice of the people revolting against an unjust system. And I would just like to go further and address myself to Mr. Malefronte in terms of the fact of this dialogue that has to occur. I mean, that there has never been a dearth of dialogue between representatives of the Negro community and the mayor's office or Mr. Malefronte or Mr. Schiff, or what have you. However, the kind of dialogue that has been—has been sterile dialogue. And from what I see right now, if somebody doesn't get together and bring some pressure to bear upon that city

hall, that's the same kind of dialogue that's going to result after this, and we are going to have riot after riot in this city.

VOICE: This is the major problem. This is the first problem we have to deal with—and then we'll get to the problems of schools. Now, another thing that Mr. Malefronte said was—that nobody in this room could speak for those youngsters out there. Let me tell you something about this. Every single time that all of us stood before the Board, the mayor's office or any place and said that you need to improve the schools, we were speaking for those youngsters out there. Every time we said that you need to clear out those rat-infested houses, we were speaking for those youngsters out there. Every time we said that these youngsters need jobs, we were speaking for those youngsters out there. They didn't come down and articulate these things, but had these things been corrected, these youngsters would not have been running out there as they were. We spoke, we tried to speak to them, and anybody—Life magazine says it was predictable. It was predicted by everybody. You say there are no leaders here? No! They don't listen to leaders out here talking about the problems. They are hand-picked-people that this community happened to pick—and they are developed by the power structure. These are leaders I am going to listen to. These people are the ones that have the no contacts with the people out in the street. Yet—and this has been told over and over again—yet these are the things that are ignored. When we said that the people that you have picked just don't know what is going on. They're in Boston somewhere or they are elsewhere during the height of the riots. These are the people that you have selected as the Negro leaders and these are the ones that you have chosen to listen to.

MR. PINKNEY: I want to address myself to a point made by Don Malefronte. I would like this opportunity to at least explode the myth of Negro leaders and I hope that for the rest of this we won't use that "whatever" any more. Leader in the traditional sense in the Negro community has been—well, they have been out of vogue for at least 300 years. I don't know when was the last time you went to an Italian community and said—who is your leader? Or to an Irish community and said—who is your leader? You know, its a technique where you have read in the paper some place that there are such things as Negro leaders—then the next day you say, well, there, aren't any; therefore, I know more than anyone else. The lady over here who spoke who had children in school came down to the mayor's office and attempted to represent her own feelings and the things of her immediate family. She was ignored. I've been in the community all my life, grew up in the riot torn area, I've worked in the riot torn area as a teacher for a great number of years and now as a director of youth corps project that has a thousand of other youngsters from the

riot torn area in it. But I'm not listened to. No one is listened to because we're black—and that is essentially the problem. I think the problem of police brutality, the problem of inadequate education and the problem of housing are simply symptomatic of the problem that black people are ignored. And they are ignored more particularly in this community by the city administration than I think in others.

MR. MEANS: I'm Fred Means, president of the Organization for Negro Educators. I go back to what Don Malefronte said earlier. What we are really talking about here is racism, attitude and power. Now, Don related some experiences that he had as a youngster growing up in a tough neighborhood. Now, I think too many times white people try to relate the experiences of the European minority coming into America to the situation that occurs here with black America. It's not the same at all—see—and until you begin to try to see the differences and understand the differences, you will be going around in one big circle. Now, let's bring attitudes right home to Newark. Let's talk about how the city administration relates to the Negro community in many areas. Let's talk about the board appointment that we just came through. Now, the Newark Committee for Better Schools which represents a wide variety of groups here in the city of Newark, the organization for Negro educators, various groups—represents a wide variety of groups that in turn represent—certainly these civil rights orientated people in the city of Newark—and we are confronted with 55% or better Negro population in the city of Newark. So, when this group comes in with a list of names of people they would like to see appointed to the Board of Education, and the other organizations in town, even apart from this particular Committee for Better Schools, make recommendations for the Board of Education—and the mayor appoints someone entirely different that wasn't even on the list, wasn't even being considered—then that's another slap in the face to the Negro community. Just a complete and utter disregard for us, see. So we want a severance of politics and education, and that's a big problem in the city of Newark. Until the mayor recognizes that he can't play politics with our kids—now, he's got all kinds of fancy reasons for saying that all these political appointments don't really affect the kids. That's hogwash. He's talking about our kids—over 70% of whom are black, and any time he makes a political appointment, our kids are suffering. Now, I would like to ask Mr. Malefronte, representing the mayor, if the mayor still feels the same way.

MR. MALEFRONTE: I think that Fred's question is whether or not the mayor is still supporting several persons for positions as assistant superintendent and so on.

I think Fred's question was whether or not the mayor was still supporting several Negroes for posi-

tions as assistant superintendent—his question, I take it—whether the riot has shaken the mayor's confidence in the Negro community. I think the answer there is—no. And I think he still does support Negroes for assistant superintendent in curriculum and another as superintendent of elementary school and community relations and several directors jobs. I think those names have been widely publicized. I think the mayor's position on . . .

MR. MEANS: We're still playing the game! There's the game, right there. We're skating on the ice.

Now, the mayor told us that there were 3 people—white people—one was a Negro, because he was going to pay him off for something he did. But there were 3 people that the mayor said he is supporting for positions in the Board of Education. Now let's go back a little bit and talk about politics and education. You know, about a year and a half ago, there were some people—about 4 of them—who pulled out of the school system and went into jobs without going through the regular procedure, in other words, political appointments. Now, at the time, to placate the community—the board, who were told by the mayor of course, said that these positions—they were just temporary positions. Now, some of these same people who were appointed at that time on a temporary basis are now being projected and supported by the mayor for the permanent position. Now that's what I want to talk about, baby. You know it, so answer that question.

MR. HUTCHINS: I got to leave because I'm not a Negro leader and as Mrs. Thomas said—the real action is not down here. I'd just like to address two quick things to Mr. Malefronte. Number 1 is that some of the people in this room were in the rebellion and I would just say that he should look around and see it and they may be doing it again—so he better check it out and see who they are. Number 2 is my view of this whole discussion. I think that the time for talk has gone and that we have to move into organizing and action. We have to realize that there are two cities in this town. One is white and one is black. And that the future of the city will be those 2 divisions—one white, one black. Now, I think as the representative in Newark for an organization which first projected black power that there is plenty of room in a human rights struggle in Newark for good white people. I think that they have to get in under black leadership to make the fight for black control in the city happen. And that it is not racism, it is not extremism. I think it is in the best American tradition that the people who are in the majority should run the city. And that I think that Mr. Talbot's Committee—the Committee of Concerned is a good idea. And I think they have to realize for us the real role is to get white people involved working for institutional change—that their role is primary, secondary—the people who move to change—the real change will be people

who deal with grassroots like Jesse Allen, like Oliver Lofton, like Bob Corwin, like, Esta Williams, and Edna Thomas and some of the other people who are sitting here outside the panel. And those are the people who are going to be primary.

I would like to just finally say that even Mr. Malefronte's being here is very racist and undemocratic because there is no reason in the city where you have a black majority—where the person who comes here represents the authority is an Italian and an Italian being a member of a minority group. I am an organizer. My only job in the city is to get Mr. Adonizzio and Mr. Malefronte impotent over the lives of black people in this town.

MRS. THOMAS: The problem is also this whole gathering. I get sick and tired of picking up a newspaper and hearing you all talk for me. Do you understand that? It hurts me every time I sit down, and pick up a paper and see you plan, and you talk, and you say what you are going to do—I don't even see what you say come about. Number 1 I got two children and they're sitting back here and as long as I'm breathing, I'm going to have something to say about their education. Not only am I going to have something to say, I'm going to demand it. And anybody who knows me, knows that I do this. And like I'm here to tell you again—brothers, you can sit downtown all you want to, but you better go up on that hill and start holding some of those meetings on public housing where those poor people pay \$56 a month rent, also got to pay for laundry services. Now I know some of the richest people in the world don't have to pay for laundry services—because they can have washing machines. Anytime you got to pay \$4 and \$5 a week to get your clothes laundered because you don't have a laundry service in the housing project—this, brother, is what some of the fight was about. I stood there watching them (riot). They were taking everything they needed. They didn't take nothing that they didn't need. And you better believe me. And I felt for them—because—let me tell you something, I heard a man sitting down saying—I ain't got no job, but I tell you one thing, my wife and my children will eat 'till I find one. And I know what was in his heart, and it's not what these so-called people down here is professing. And as I said before, you better get them downtown and go up there into the Central Ward, and take a good look at the sins you have committed by building a new type of slum.

Thank you.

MR. BOOTH: Well, ladies and gentlemen, as I said in my opening remarks, the basic purpose of this meeting is to achieve a better and fuller understanding of the Negro problem. This is an example of some direct reporting. What we have seen in this film is, of course, not confined to the inner city of Newark, but is found in other Negro ghettos around the country.

So, to help us further our understanding, we have with us today three Negro youth leaders, who have accepted our invitation to be the guests of the National Chamber on this program, and to tell us plainly and candidly how the Negro youth of America feel about conditions affecting the Negro, not only their frustrations, but also their aspirations.

Let me present these people to you: first of all, from Washington, D. C., Mr. Marion Barry.

From Philadelphia, Miss Mary Richardson.

From Milwaukee, Mr. Jimmi Givings.

To interview these youth leaders and to put questions to them to which all of us would like to know the answers, we have a panel of four men especially well qualified for this assignment.

First of all: Dr. Kenneth Clark.

Mr. Haynes Johnson.

Mr. Eugene Patterson.

Mr. Charles Smith.

To moderate this morning's discussion, to keep things moving along, whom better could we find than Mr. Leon Lewis, the person who did such an admirable job of moderating in the film which we have just viewed.

So, Mr. Leon Lewis, will you please take over?

MR. LEWIS: I had to look around to see if we had any ladies present, so that I might say, ladies and gentlemen.

I am delighted to be here. And I certainly hope that this is going to be an instructive and exciting discussion, one that will live in your memory for sometime after.

I might tell you how we are going to proceed this morning.

In the first place, for the next hour, the interviewing panel members on my left individually will pose questions to the panel of black youth leaders on my right. Any one of them may choose to respond initially by holding up his or her hand. When he is finished, either of the other two may add anything he wishes. We will continue in this manner for an hour.

I would ask only one thing, that the questions be succinct, bearing in mind that our purpose here this morning is, first, to learn and, second, to gain a better understanding.

I would like to drop you a key or two that may help you to understand what our young black youth leaders might have to say.

First of all, the Kerner report suggests that we are polarizing into two Americas. Well, for me—a Negro, there have always been two Americas. There has been the world in which I live and the world in which you live, and in which I work. And my experience necessarily has been somewhat different from your experience. And, consequently, I may see things from a different frame of reference than you do, and also my value system may be a little different from yours, because the word "black" in your value system does things to me.

I have had to invent a value system that did other things for me.

And so, if you remember these things, which we all know, if you will just keep them at the top of your conscience, I think it will help you understand what we have to say today.

I expect this to be an exciting discussion, and at the end of an hour, there will be an opportunity for you in the audience to have your questions put to these three young black leaders.

You have been given question cards, and if you need more, just hold up your hand, and either of the two young ladies who are circulating up and down the aisles will give you additional question cards.

As you write down questions, pass them along to the aisle, these ladies will pick them up.

These questions will be brought to the screening table. The purpose of the screening table is to eliminate duplications, and I hope, when you write your questions, you, too, will make them brief and to the point.

First I am going to ask Mr. Barry, then Miss Richardson and finally Mr. Givings each to take three or four minutes to tell us a little bit about their work.

Mr. Barry, will you be kind enough to lead off and tell us what you do?

MR. BARRY: Thank you, Mr. Lewis.

I work for an organization called Pride, Inc. I am the Director of Operations. I have 1050 young black males from the ages of 14 to 25. About 800 of these men are in school, and 250 are out of school.

Among these 250, I would say 80 per cent of them are high-school dropouts, kicked out or left out or pushed out or put out, and among these same 250 men, I would say about 75 are men who have had some problems with the police and were incarcerated and in jail.

I work with these men. Their attitudes are very simple. These are the kinds of young men who say, if tomorrow is like today or yesterday, then the hell with tomorrow.

I work with men who say that they are tired of living with the rats and roaches and slum housing. I work with men who say that they are tired of the police beating them and committing brutalities on them.

I work with men who say there are three ways they are going to survive. They are going to work, beg or steal, and in a lot of instances, because of their records and education, they won't work. They are too proud to beg; therefore, they are going to steal.

They will knock you on the head and take some money from you, because they have to survive.

I work with men who say, for instance—why should we go 10,000 miles away to fight for the so-called freedom we don't have here?

I work with young men who say this society is very corrupt. They don't care anything about it.

These are the kinds of people I work with, who are alienated, who are hostile, who don't care what happens to this country.

That is where I am at this point.

MR. LEWIS: Thank you very much.

I wonder if we can hear now from Miss Richardson.

MISS RICHARDSON: I am the representative and the chairman of a group of gang youth from North Philadelphia, and from West Philadelphia, and at last count we had 3000 in our group.

I have recently been working with the poor white element that rioted against my people in 1967. I am concerned with the human problem and not a racial problem. I am concerned about the human needs of people and why they have those needs.

MR. LEWIS: Thank you, Miss Richardson. Fine.

MISS RICHARDSON: How do you like that?

MR. LEWIS: That is very brief for a lady, isn't it?

Now, I would like to hear from Mr. Givings.

MR. GIVINGS: I am the Executive Director of the Northcott Neighborhood House in Milwaukee, which is a settlement house, a social service agency.

Primarily, in its history, the agency has also been involved with youth in the community and providing programs for youth in that community.

The concept is basically to reach into the community and find out what the community people themselves feel is the thing that is missing, the thing that has to be supplied. So, we then hope that we can develop a program to provide the services that the total community is laggard in providing.

This may go into many different directions—community organization or just providing basic social services.

In the area of youth, our primary concern is that we begin to teach and organize youth.

I think that we have to keep in mind during this conference the fact that youth in America will become organized. The direction in which their action goes will depend not only upon you people here, but the total society.

I think that if we do one thing at Northcott, we organize the individuals' minds. From that point out, I think, if you don't do something to solve the problems that we face in this country, that the organization will not result in a riot, but will result in an organized revolution. And I think this is a decision, the thing that we should keep in our minds here.

Thank you.

MR. LEWIS: Thank you, Mr. Givings.

So, ladies and gentlemen, you see, we have three people who are working in a very positive way in the areas of their concern. Necessarily, their problems are somewhat different from yours. And necessarily, their frame of reference may be somewhat different from yours.

So, it should be interesting now, as we turn to our panel, to hear what sort of questions the experts might ask. You in the audience will have your chance in a little while.

Gentlemen, who has the first question?

Yes, Mr. Johnson.

MR. JOHNSON: I would like to ask Marion Barry the question, just to follow up on what Mr. Givings just said. I was struck in the film by one of the remarks that a Negro made there that said the Negroes were organized and had a riot in Newark, and the time for talking is past. Do you think that is the case here in your own experience, Mr. Barry? How do you feel?

MR. BARRY: Mr. Johnson, let me say this. I am not very optimistic, quite frankly, I think we have been promised for 400 years a number of things which have not been delivered. And in every major city in this country, you still have promises being made. And, in fact, the most recent thing is the Kerner Commission Report, which has been virtually ignored by the Administration. And I think a lot of people, including myself, are really tired of a lot of talk and talk and talk—which doesn't lead to any action. And I believe that a lot of people are just tired of that. And they don't want to come and listen to—and they won't come and listen to—that, and they tell me, "You have been talking, and have gotten everybody down here, and we are tired of listening to the talk."

I think that, hopefully, today and tomorrow, conversation and dialogue will help some, but I don't think we have a lot of time in which to operate and move.

I think it is almost too late.

MR. LEWIS: I recognize Dr. Clark.

DR. CLARK: This question is to Mr. Givings. What do you think will be the effect of the Kerner Commission Report in getting the society to address itself to the basic problems which you and others face in trying to seek justice?

MR. GIVINGS: Let me say, first, that here in this country we have a history of being able to report on what the problem is, but no background for providing the solution to the problem.

The effect that I see of the Kerner Report in the Milwaukee community—and somewhat around the

country—has been that, well, there it is. There is another great white paper from the white power structure, but there are no solutions. There is no real effort to solve the problems that are mentioned in the Kerner Report.

I think that if white America is sincere about the Report that is made, at this point in time, they have to begin to organize their resources to, in fact, solve the problems that are brought out in this Report.

DR. CLARK Do you think such a Report was needed?

MR. GIVINGS: No, I don't think so. I think that we have watched, in fact, the actions of an oppressed people in the society which negate the kinds of reports—which make unnecessary any kind of report—that the action speaks louder than words. There has been more action—much more action—in response to violence than to reports.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Givings, just one thing, to clarify the answer to the question: When you say "they", whom do you refer to?

MR. GIVINGS: The establishment.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Smith.

MR. SMITH: First, I would like to say to the youth leaders that I think all of us are here to learn today, and my question is aimed in that general direction. As I watched that film and as I listened to our first remarks, it seems to me we have been doing a lot of talking about what we don't like, but I would be interested in getting an answer from anyone of you as to what your personal aspirations are. If we could wave a magic wand and create the kind of world you would like to have, just what are you trying to achieve?

MR. LEWIS: Who would like to take that question? Mr. Barry.

MR. BARRY: I will start off. That is a very idealistic question, and I don't think it is an easy one to answer. I think that it is hard to answer.

We in *Pride* are talking about economic development, trying to create a self-help, self-respect kind of program, where we can give dignity and pride to the individual because he is a human being, not because he is black.

Second, we are talking about providing enough economic stability where a man doesn't have to worry about where his next meal is coming from, or where he is going to sleep tonight. And we are talking about a house that is comfortable. We are talking about a way of life that is commensurate with what we say. We talk about democracy. Let's preach it and practice it.

So my first feeling is to have a world in which—I don't think it is going to happen in my lifetime, quite frankly—where people in this world, this country, can see each other as human beings, as someone worth something and not as black persons or Negroes, or that kind of stuff—where you really feel that you have an opportunity to do what your capabilities and abilities allow you to do.

MR. LEWIS: Do any of our other youth leaders want to comment?

Miss Richardson.

MISS RICHARDSON: I would like to see white America do what they have been preaching for so long.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Givings, would you have a comment?

MR. GIVINGS: Yes. I would agree with Miss Richardson. I think that is in itself a very adequate answer.

It is strange that the leaders of this country pose to the people the question of solving the problem that has existed for so long. The Establishment in this society is probably the most organized. It would seem to me that they have the capabilities of dealing with this problem. We have the capabilities of dealing with other problems. Why not this one?

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Patterson.

MR. PATTERSON: I did want to follow up on this particular line of question. The Department of Labor in a survey of Detroit, after the riots there, determined that the average rioter had a job and was earning \$120 a week. The average manufacturing wage in Detroit was \$150. So they were under that. But they were making the average national wage in manufacturing.

Many of us had thought that economic stability, Mr. Barry, as you mentioned, was the key to this problem. What happened in Detroit?

MR. BARRY: Well, I think that Detroit—it is probably difficult. I don't want to imply that money is an answer—that if a man didn't have a job, he would go out and burn the stores and things.

I think it is a psychological thing of powerlessness. Even if they made \$150, they want respect as people; they wanted to be looked on as people who had something.

The whole syndrome—and Mary and Jimmi can add to this—of frustration, of seeing something that doesn't quite exist—like being close to the water, and yet you can't quite drink it—although you are quite close to it.

It is the syndrome of frustration, and in a society where you do not have any power. That is the way I would explain it.

MISS RICHARDSON: I would go a little further. Tokenism is not a way of solving the problem.

MR. PATTERSON: What is not a way?

MISS RICHARDSON: I am talking in terms of people, when they really don't have power in their own black community. We own nothing in our communities throughout this country, not even our own homes. The mortgage company holds them. And our mortgages are twice as high as yours will be. That is tokenism.

MR. LEWIS: Dr. Clark.

DR. CLARK: This is more of a comment than a question. But it is one which I feel impelled to make. I think that the answer to Mr. Smith's question is found in this very situation in which we are involved. If you look at this audience, you will get part of your answers. And my own position here, is an anomaly, because here I am on this side of the table, when actually America really means me to be on the other side of the table. And it may be that I am on this side of the table, because of what Miss Richardson calls tokenism.

The fact is that this is an extraordinarily sick society, sick almost to the point of hopelessness, sick with the profound systemic disease of racism, which we see exemplified in this very meeting in which we are attempting to discuss the situation—and the issue before us, really, the cure—and the issue really before us today is whether there is a cure for a disease that has been permitted to prevail for so long as even to be considered normal. It may be that this, in a very complex way, Mr. Smith, is the answer to your question.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Johnson.

MR. JOHNSON: Several people have mentioned such things as "white power structure" and "the establishment" and "the system" here already this morning. Do you believe that these gentlemen out here, representing American business—do you believe they really want to do something for Negroes in this country? Do you believe they are committed? Do you believe that the political system is really there for you to work through? Any of you?

MR. LEWIS: Who would like to answer it?

MR. GIVINGS: Let me say, first, that I came to Washington and appeared before this conference for two reasons. First, I figured it was about the only way I could get a vacation from Milwaukee and get a little rest.

And second, because as a worker in a black community, who is trying to deal with and solve certain types of problems, I have, in my own conception, the

fact that hopefully, there is something that we can still do about the problems that we face.

Maybe a lot of the ladies and gentlemen in the audience came basically for the same reason, that I did—to get a rest. But it is not important to me whether the people out there are or are not part of the Establishment. The thing that is important to me is, like Phil said in the film, that they become impotent over black lives. And in this conference we can work out, so you can take back to your cities and localities, a program by which black people can begin to become involved in the main stream and in the operation of the American society in a much more meaningful way than they have been in the past.

This is the objective. I am not concerned whether the people or the Establishment is racist. It really doesn't matter.

MR. LEWIS: It seems this is an important question, and I would like to hear from other members of the youth panelists first, and then we will come back to you, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Barry, or Miss Richardson.

MR. BARRY: Would you repeat the question? I had it and lost it.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Johnson's question was: Do you feel that this audience is committed to doing something? Do you feel the political structure in this country is committed to doing something about the problem?

MR. BARRY: I can say this. I can only go on the past. Basically, it makes a lot of noise and a lot of talk about it. I can't speak for these specific gentlemen and ladies here. I don't know them. But the structure that they represent has not been responsive in the past to our needs—and, in fact, they have not been impotent—they have been very powerful—and as Jimmi said, I hope what we can do at least here is get to the point where black people in this country can at least begin to control their own communities, and have some sense of controlling their own lives.

I don't know yet, I can't pass a judgment yet. Hopefully, by tomorrow, I can give you more specific answers, but if the past is an indication of where we are, that is bad.

I hope everybody who came here is committed to making a change. I don't think you will get rid of this racism in this day and a half, or the next 25 years, but if we can get rid of some of the manifestations of it, then I think we will have done something here.

MR. LEWIS: Miss Richardson, would you have a comment?

MISS RICHARDSON: Yes, I would say that everyone in this audience had better remember the rise and fall of

the Roman Empire—and this nation has a choice of rise or fall. And you are part of this mass confusion—and you are not any longer just subunits that look into the ghetto areas. They are a part of your country, and if you don't wake up and take your stand as to what is going on in this country, then you are responsible for whatever happens in every part of this country.

So, I believe that you really have no choice but to be concerned.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Johnson, do you have a follow-up to that question, or do you want to say anything else?

MR. JOHNSON: I guess I was trying to put myself—Dr. Clark talked about different sides of the table—I was trying to put myself on that side—the audience—and I was wondering if I were a representative of American industry, what I should go back to tell my company about what we should do that we are not doing.

Is it spending more money? What kind of programs do we lack? We have in the past few years initiated a great many programs—billions of dollars being spent. I am trying to get the discussion going, so we can understand.

MR. BARRY: Maybe the best thing then is to keep these mikes open. That way we can follow it more naturally—keep all the mikes open. If we do that, we can have interchange—not just a dead kind of thing.

I think the point is that we spend our money in the wrong places. We are spending our money on the wrong kinds of programs. The program that we spent our money on for the last ten years, and we have been actively involved, has not helped the mass of the blacks in this country. It has not helped the 90 per cent. It has helped, basically, the people who got the education, who got the initiative, who were organized. But if you look in every major city, you find 90 per cent are not the ones who benefitted from this.

In fact, the situation in America is getting worse. The unemployment rate is the same as it was 10 years ago. In Washington, for instance, the school dropout rate is 53 per cent, and it is going up every year. You discover that black people are losing.

So, our money has not been spent in the right places—that is what I am saying—not only that business has not. We spent our money on the space program, on everything else, except our cities that need the money.

That is what I am saying. We need billions of dollars—not just spend them in the cities—not just give to them for any old program, but a program that will get to the hopelessness and frustrations of 90 per cent. That is what the money has to be spent for. The money has to be given without any strings, without control. You have to give it to us and let us spend it the way we think will solve the problem. The problem has not been solved by the way you have been doing it in the past.

MISS RICHARDSON: I would also like to say that you have to stop giving us some leaders. You have to realize that the people we are talking about constituted the most organized persons in this whole country. Any time you can live off the money that a dog can't live on—they have to know how to organize. You have to look to those people to tell you what they want, and what they can get. You have to find out whether you fit in.

No one giving us leaders, so you will have someone to speak to. Then you will get down to the problem.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Barry and Miss Richardson, you both spoke in rather broad generalities about the kind of programs that ought to be done. You said, Mr. Barry, that we spent our money badly—haven't spent it wisely.

I sort of wonder if you have anything specific in mind about a program that might be more beneficial than the programs that have been sponsored heretofore.

MR. BARRY: Let me give you a specific example. Take the whole welfare system in America as an example of how we spend our money in the wrong way.

Take public housing, there should be a plan or program. First of all, you shouldn't call it public housing. There should be a plan or a program where people who live in low-income housing should be able to purchase and own the house and ought to be subsidized like we subsidize other housing.

I think in terms of the cities you have not developed and created jobs. I mean, in the highly technological society, such as ours, we have many people without work. What do you do with them?

You talk about the things like the guaranteed income. The main thing I am talking about is not necessarily always respect but, an attitude of how you give the money—how you create a feeling of the sense of dignity. You can give me a million dollars, if you want to, but if you don't give it to me in the right way and the program wasn't structured so I had a lot to say about how it went on, I wouldn't be satisfied with the money.

It is an attitude that I think Americans have to go over to. They can't control our lives. And you have to create a program where there is some dignity and respect. So you are not like a master-and-slave kind of thing. Here is a master giving you millions of dollars, and you have to act like a slave ought to act, because you have a million dollars.

MR. LEWIS: I think you have cleared it up a little bit. Mr. Givings, would you like to add something?

MR. GIVINGS: Yes, I would.

I think that one of the things that the people in the audience should keep in mind, and that would be, in returning to their own communities, giving the kind of support in dollars and cents that has to go to programs that are developed within the communities themselves.

This is part of the whole concept of developing dignity—funding programs that the people in the communities have developed, which is the important thing.

And I would like to keep stressing this, as we go on—without the strings attached.

The OEO program in this country has failed primarily because the people to whom the program is geared are asked to give up their lives, practically, in order to participate in a program that is geared to so-called self-help, and the program itself is beginning to eat away at the lives of the individuals involved.

OEO has required that poor people are feasibly—how is it said—I think the maximum feasible participation. What is feasible in the black community? Only black people can decide that, not OEO, not Sargent Shriver, or anyone. So, the programs that are developed that come out of that black community have to be supported, have to be given dollars without the strings attached from the white community.

MR. LEWIS: Miss Richardson, would you like to add something to that?

MISS RICHARDSON: Yes. I was just thinking about what happened when we went in the streets of Philadelphia, talking about the poverty program. And we were telling the people that Johnson had just declared war on poverty. I question a war on poverty. I know what war means in this country.

In terms of what needs to be done, I started writing some notes here real quickly, about what is going on in the black ghettos throughout the country, and how you businessmen have sort of pushed us in this effort.

One thing I think about my people—they cannot own homes because of the income they have. Therefore they don't have the real pride of ownership. I see a lot of slum houses being done over in a program that they have. This means we are going to live here because we don't want you on the streets. We don't really care where you live. It doesn't look good.

If the banks of this country would start realizing what they are doing by not helping people with mortgages—and if the poverty people, the programs they have, meant what they want to do, what they would do is see that some people who have decent jobs could get houses without the high mortgages that the banks hold. In every poverty area throughout this country, insurance is impossible. If you work in a poverty area, if you are white or black, your car has to have twice as much insurance. This is impossible.

Businessmen would like to help in the black community. They tell me that their insurance is now triple what it was before.

Now, you know this simply means if you live in a poverty area, it is poverty for you, but somebody else is getting rich, and I think a lot of your companies sitting out there in that audience are the companies that are getting rich.

If you deal with that reality first, the reality of yourselves, then you might be able to deal with my problem.

MR. LEWIS: Dr. Clark.

DR. CLARK: I would like to address this to the entire panel. Am I hearing correctly that underneath what is being said about possible solutions, that the integration struggle has now moved to the critical stage of the desire for integration of the political decision-making power that really affects the lives of people?

I know that on the surface the words that come through seem to suggest that, or seem to be rather explicit in black nationalist separatism, but when you go beneath these words, beneath the surface, many of you—Mr. Givings and Mr. Barry have this morning—they are talking about power and control over the destiny or the lives of people whose interests have been previously ignored.

Am I correct in interpreting this as another level of integration, integration in the decision-making, integration in the effective use of power?

MR. LEWIS: Do you understand the question, panel?

MR. BARRY: Let me say this. People get confused by names and labels, and we talked about integration, but it has been primarily the social and political type of integration. I think—can I use another word, call it participation, which to me is an economic term. We have not been able to participate in an economic sense, and I think the reality of America is very simple. Wherever you have a white community—and facts and figures show this—and then a few Negroes move in, that may or may not be all right. But assume it is all right. Then, whenever the percentage gets to be about 25 or 30 per cent, you find that in a year that community becomes all black.

You also discover in the school system, whenever you start putting blacks in the school, after a while, if there are 30 or 35 per cent blacks, in another year—it happened here in Washington—it became 90 per cent. And if you are talking about the reality of America, it is that we are going to have, for a long time, a segregated society. Whether you like it or not, if it is going to be segregated, let's make it the best we have. Let's make the education the best we have! Let's make the houses the best houses.

America is a segregated society. Basically, the Jews live together, the Poles live together, the Italians live together. But they come out and work in an integrated society and go back to their homes.

That is the reality of America. I am saying here—let's strive to open things up. Let's get the best things for the blacks. There we are. It is the white people's fault that they leave, not ours. They leave the community. They leave the school system. They leave

everything. So, in addition to the political and social thing, I am talking about participating in the economic things—in the decision-making—putting people in positions where they can make decisions about things economically and not talk about having real power, which we don't have.

That is the essence of what I have to say.

MR. LEWIS: Miss Richardson, do you have a comment on this?

MISS RICHARDSON: I think Marion answered it for me.

MR. GIVINGS: I will accept Mr. Barry's answer.

MR. LEWIS: What the panel is saying—they have said it much better than I shall—but I would like to repeat it, because it should be underscored. When you talk about integration, you are not talking about the intermingling of the races—you are talking about full participation in the full-scale of American life, in the business community, in government, in the areas of decision-making, and I think that is what is meant by the term "integration."

Do you agree, Dr. Clark?

DR. CLARK: This is consistent with the warnings of the Kerner Report—that the despair of the young Negro is a contributing factor in the possibility of America settling for a black and white society.

MR. LEWIS: Would you rephrase that question? I didn't quite understand it.

DR. CLARK: Well, if I understand what Mr. Barry has said—that all attempts at integration in various institutions in our society have so far failed, and it then follows that the young Negro is now asking for participation and control over the Negro communities, and is willing to accept Negro institutions, if he controls them.

Does this mean that this gives credence to the warning of the Kerner Commission Report that America is, in fact, moving toward accepting black and white communities, quite separate?

MR. LEWIS: Do you understand the question, Miss Richardson?

MISS RICHARDSON: Yes, I do.

DR. CLARK: And is the Negro willing to accept this?

MISS RICHARDSON: I don't think there has ever been any difference in this country. It has always been black and white.

DR. CLARK: Not moving toward it—it is there.

MISS RICHARDSON: Yes, it is there. Ever since I was born I was aware of it. I am not ready to change yet, because I don't know white folks and I don't think white folks know me, and I don't have time to deal with their reality—of knowing them. I am trying to deal with the reality that I can't control me.

MR. GIVINGS: I think possibly where we may be getting off the track is that first Marion said very clearly America has always been a separate society—it does separate the two races. That is no problem. The problem that America is having today is that black people are saying, "We realize that, but we just want to control and have our own power base within the community."

The question is power, not integration any longer. If we make any mistakes in our movement for freedom in this country, it is because we talk about integration. That was a part of the brainwashing, assimilating system, that was put into us.

At this point in time, now that we realize that, that no longer is really important, to integrate with the white system, but that what we have to have is a base of power from which we can negotiate with that white system. Then we begin to solve problems. We are not at this point concerned in our living next door with white folk—that is not—I think Malcolm said it quite well—that doesn't have anything to do with liberation. It deals more with going back on the plantation. We are not interested in that any longer. Our base is to establish power in black communities by which we can negotiate and become a meaningful part of this so-called democracy. That is much more important, and that is the thing we should be addressing ourselves to.

MR. BARRY: Look at our community. Just look around you. See the police department which is a problem. That is a problem. We have no control over that police department. It runs rampant and wild, like a mad dog sometimes, and the whole thing is that. Look at the economic situation, the economic system. Look at the grocery stores in our communities. Look at the clothing stores. I am not talking about the stores downtown. We are talking about the stores like here in Washington, on 7th Street, where you buy a television set for \$400, which you can buy for \$250 somewhere else.

We don't have control over that. Or if you look at who can come into our community. Anybody can come into our community—anybody can come in and do anything they want to do.

We are saying—if we have it, let us have control over it, because it will be there. You can say, "Okay, let's not do it that way. Let's push it open, open the society."

The reality is very simple. Look at all the fair housing in this country. Look at New York, California. Look at everywhere you have that. Those things have not opened the society up.

That is what has caused frustration. We have been sold something that didn't happen. We have been told—if you do this, this will happen—if you sign this petition and you have a fair housing law, then black people can move into Maryland and Virginia. That hasn't happened.

We should now deal with the reality of life as it is. We will have Shaw, Upper Cardozo—we will have the South Side, Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant. Let's make that community the best community that we have. Let's make the housing the best housing that we can have. That is what I am trying to say.

That sounds harsh, but it is the truth. It is inconsistent with our American dream and philosophy of brotherhood. But with the ghettos, we don't have it.

MR. PATTERSON: Mr. Barry and the rest of the panel—I grew up in the South. Separate but equal was what the old Southern segregationists said, and I seem to hear this panel say this.

We have spent since 1954 attempting to integrate schools on the understanding that segregated education is inherently unequal. We have attempted to make our cities an integrated society. And admittedly, we haven't made much progress, but are you now giving up on integration? Do you think the old Southern segregationist was right?

MR. BARRY: Mr. Patterson, I am from the South, too, and I am from Memphis, Tennessee, and I grew up in a segregated society. It wasn't hardly equal at all.

You see, the bus I rode on in the back was not hardly equal at all. I am saying this. It is very simple to me. I am not a racist. I am against racism, but the reality of America is that we are going to have those segregated communities, whether we like it or not, and the best thing you can do is make them best. It doesn't mean I want to come here and participate. It doesn't mean that Negroes won't go to work for IBM or these other companies, AT&T. In fact, I would have more of them working there. It doesn't mean they won't work within a white society and work with white people. But basically, America is a segregated society.

You can't tell the difference between a Jew who is white and an Italian who is white, because they are both white. It is not as clear-cut. But look at America. Let's deal with it. It is already segregated. Look at Atlanta, Georgia. You are from Atlanta. I have lived there and been there. Look at that community. You will find certain pockets of certain kinds of people living together there.

Go to New York, or Milwaukee. You find the Polish live together. The Irish live together. The Italians live together. The Jewish people live together. People segregate themselves anyway.

I don't see how we can get away from that pattern.

MR. PATTERSON: This is what George Wallace says.

MR. BARRY: I think George Wallace tells a lot of truth, quite frankly.

MISS RICHARDSON: As a Northerner, I will add something here.

I am strictly from Philadelphia, born and raised there. I don't see much difference between the South and the North. The only difference is that you Southerners are a little bit more outspoken than the North. We have always had this separation in the North, too. And I think our ghettos in the North are just as bad as your black places in the South. And I don't think we can divide the country, saying South and North, because, actually, it is the same all over.

MR. GIVINGS: Mr. Patterson, I think we should be very careful as to whom we address ourselves when we talk about people who have attempted to deal with the problem.

The way in which former Governor Wallace wants to deal with it and the way we are attempting to deal with it are two very great extremes. He is not interested in, has never been interested in and never will be interested in black welfare and black power. And I think you should remember that—and the racist, segregationist of the South will never be interested in black power.

They separated their society and did it on the basis of their own institutions, on the basis of their own fear of the Negroes, and of black people and of their economic base, which provided slavery for them to build their Southern society—so let's keep that clear.

As a Southerner I respect you, but let's not use it. The problem we are talking about in this country is as much a Southern problem as it is a Northern problem. I think you have to remember that we have to solve that as an American problem, and not as a North-South problem. And when you decide you want to fight the war again, you do that with those people out in the audience, because they are white and we are black.

MR. JOHNSON: I would like to get away from the philosophy for a moment and ask a specific and practical question of Miss Richardson. You are working with 3000 gang youths in Philadelphia.

MISS RICHARDSON: Yes.

MR. JOHNSON: What are you doing? What is the state of those youths? Where are they going? And what is going to be done for those people? And how are you operating with them?

MR. LEWIS: Before you begin that, I think it might be better for all of us, if you would define what you mean by a gang group. I don't think we understand.

MISS RICHARDSON: Well, I would like to have that question open for the other two panelists, because they also work with gangs.

MR. LEWIS: Do you mind if we get a clarification of that?

MR. JOHNSON: Fine.

MISS RICHARDSON: The gang is the social club of the black people, black ghetto. They cannot have a building—they cannot afford that—which would be up-to-date and have modern equipment, as most of the social clubs have. They meet and argue among themselves, like you do in your social clubs—and they try to outdo each other, like you do in your social clubs.

Mostly, a gang is a gang because it is called so for self-preservation within a ghetto. No self-respecting youth in the black ghetto would go to a school in another area without gang members—some of the members of his gang being there—because of the fact that you know the society is sick and it breeds prejudice and racism. You have two elements of poor blacks who feel they must go at each other, because there is nothing else to do. What we are doing with the gang kids of Philadelphia is that we are motivating them to help themselves and their families.

The most recent thing that we have done—we are known as the first group of poor folks who came to Washington and raised hell with the Labor Department about the poverty program. Our cry was—if it was for the people, let us form our own committee.

The elections held in Philadelphia on the poverty program were the idea of the gang kids of Philadelphia. Again, experts got into it and the election turned out to be tokenism.

The gang kids are also working on the problem of housing. They go out, and they help their neighbors. If there is a woman who lives in a bad house—say there is a violation on that house, we make sure they fall through a hole in the house, and they don't miss the violations, and we fight. We have also been very effective in terms of jobs. We have been attacking many companies in the city—and in terms of the kind of employment that we need and why many of the gang kids that go on these jobs never stay.

We have all kinds of problems like this. We are attacking the court procedures in this country. We have cases like one young fellow who witnessed a homicide, turned around and repeated it to the judge, which is something gang kids never do, and then was jailed himself for being on the scene, when it was done.

We fought that case, and when we fought that, the judge came up with two alternatives. He would either be accused of the homicide himself or join the service. The young fellow decided to join the service. He was told two days ago, "Now that you have enlisted, until they call you up, you will go to jail."

To us this is a problem for the gang, and it has to be fought. The gangs must band together as a group to fight the system, the system that creates racism.

I think that answers your question.

MR. LEWIS: I think it does, if we don't have anyone who wants to add something to that.

MR. BARRY: I have one point.

MR. LEWIS: Yes.

MR. BARRY: We are working—Washington is not as notorious for its gangs as other cities—

MISS RICHARDSON: Watch it!

MR. BARRY: Like Philadelphia.
I know a little bit about Chicago.

MISS RICHARDSON: Let's talk about Chicago.

MR. BARRY: It is a way of life, of banding together for protection. In some instances, they commit crimes and hit people on the head.

Since September, when we have been working with them, we have had only 2 instances where the young men have gotten into difficulty with the police. Even though they have had charges like robbery, auto theft, house-breaking, and these kinds of things, we have gotten them together to understand one thing—they want respect and want a job given them—we create respect. We say to them, in order to get respect you have to give it. In order to give it, you have to respect yourself. In order to respect yourself, you have to know about yourself.

So we teach them something about our history, so they can know where we came from. You will be surprised at the motivation they get, how they feel about themselves. That is the kind of people we are working with and the kinds of things we are trying to do with them.

MR. GIVINGS: The only thing I can add in terms of what has been said at this point would be—in Milwaukee, our effort would be to take the gang and use the structure that the gang already has to provide an entree into dealing with social, political and economic problems in the community. Hopefully, one of the ways in which we see ourselves doing this is by organizing the youth on a community basis, making them more responsive and responsible to their community—in developing things within that community that are missing. We feel that in this way, what we do is to bring closer the realities that the system is subject to—and we have to develop our own system to talk about the destruction, and many times this is what the youth gangs are doing. Just merely talking about the destruction of the system that has its foot on their necks, doesn't always solve the

problem. Our question is what kind of system will take its place—and that we have to constantly begin to develop a system by which black people will be able to be governed by their people.

Gangs are important because they are like primaries—as the Mafia developed in its own realm, so do blacks develop, and we take that, and we secure the black community with that. That is one of the things we have to keep in mind, the security of the black people. That community has to be there, and the gangs have to be there.

MR. LEWIS: With that background, Mr. Johnson, would you rephrase your question?

MR. JOHNSON: That is fine. I want to get the point where they thought something constructive was coming out of your work in a positive way. I think they answered that.

MR. LEWIS: I think they have, too.
I would like to go now, to Mr. Smith.

MR. SMITH: As I watched these film clips from Newark, I was struck by the words "sterile dialogue" and I hope that we can perhaps move into a constructive area here. I would like to ask a question. I know it is an extremely difficult one. But I think all of us are sincerely interested in the viewpoints of our panelists on specifics of what ought to be done, and how ought it to be done. What can we take back to our communities? What steps should be taken today in the views of you youth leaders to help solve this problem, because this is what we are really here for? How will we solve this problem? What should we do? And how do we do it, in your view?

MR. GIVINGS: I feel—we are running an hour and a half into this conference and trying to find solutions at this early stage may be idealistic. As we develop into the conference and answer questions, some answers might come out. To throw out a blanket answer is very unrealistic.

MR. BARRY: What I have tried to do—as have Mary and Jimmi—is at least give you a picture of what it is like where we are in America, and how we feel about where we are.

As Jimmi said, I think specific answers can come as we go, but to come to the same conclusion about the analysis of the problem—first, you see the problem one way and we see it another way.

I think we have to realistically deal with the fact that we have to look at the problem and view the problem, if possible the same way, then I think we will get some solutions that we can all look at and take back.

The problem in America is white people still do not understand the black community, do not know who

they are and how they think. We are trying to give you an idea of the kind of thinking.

Let me say this. What I have said certainly represents what I feel but it doesn't speak for every gang person in America, because we can't do that, either. But what I am trying to do is give you a reflection and attitude of how I feel, and how some of the men I work with feel, so you can understand that, too.

So, we are trying to set the stage, so you can see where we are, and the next step is how do we go from there.

We are still not convinced that things are as serious as they are. You are still not convinced that things have deteriorated to the point they have in America, because, basically, a man will not condemn himself. It is hard for us to condemn ourselves, for you to condemn yourselves to let the thing get to where it is. I think it is your fault primarily. I am trying to set the stage, to see where we are, so the next step will see some specific solutions.

All three of us have some specific ideas as to how to solve these problems, if you are listening.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Patterson, do you have a question for the panel?

Mr. Johnson.

MR. JOHNSON: I did so want to get into the area of the police problem, but I am afraid that will take a little while. Let's ask Miss Richardson about Philadelphia. Do you really think the police are opposed to Negroes? We heard a lot of talk about brutality and Marion Barry said, "running like a mad dog." Do you feel that way? How do you feel about that, Miss Richardson?

MISS RICHARDSON: You shouldn't ask me that. Rizzo is my commissioner. I hope I don't hurt anybody, but I am known to speak what I feel. If you are really concerned about Philadelphia—that has just given us the opening to start the revolution in Philadelphia—our police department is the worst in the country. Whenever a man says he is going to deal with kids 16 and 17 with tanks, I question what kind of war on poverty you are talking about.

Our commissioner made this statement, and he was praised by people throughout the country. He has been given credit for not having a riot last year in the city. No one individual can have that credit. The credit came to all the people of Philadelphia who are still talking with white folks in Philadelphia.

I consider Rizzo dangerous. He is the best organizer for black revolution, I know—him and Wallace. And as long as you have our commissioner and policemen who belong to the hate groups, running loose in the streets, you can expect whatever will happen in this country. I don't believe Hitler is dead. I believe he is in Philadelphia.

I think that answers your question.

MR. PATTERSON: May I follow that point up by asking any of you to explain to those of us who do not live in the black ghettos, what it is that you mean specifically by police brutality? Do you mean a man hitting you over the head with a billy club? Or are there other things you mean by police brutality, as you see it from where you live?

MISS RICHARDSON: I will give you one incident. There is a man who came from Georgia four years ago to Philadelphia. He was walking his dog. And there was a Puerto Rican woman. She got scared because a drunk walked up the street. It happened he lived three doors from Mr. Fitzgerald. The police showed up on the scene and decided to arrest the drunk. Mr. Fitzgerald said, "I will take the drunk home."

Mr. Fitzgerald wound up with handcuffs around his wrists and arms around his throat—he was thrown into the paddy wagon. His son, who was with him, was beaten with a night stick. And Fitzgerald was hollering in his Southern accent, "What did I do wrong?"

The police said, "We will teach you what is wrong." The police said that. When they got him to the police station, they beat him—fifteen white cops—from the end of the paddy wagon to inside the station.

Mr. Fitzgerald has lost an eye. He is suing the city, because of this. Our welfare people tell us he can't get on welfare just because of this. This man used to clean high windows. He is a high window washer. He can't do that because of the loss of that one eye. He is still suffering police harrassment.

I believe his wife gets threatening telephone calls to the effect, "We will get you, you nigger. Get back to Georgia, where you belong."

That is only one of hundreds every other month that I get in my city. I consider that police harrassment and police brutality.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Givings, would you like a shot at that?

MR. GIVINGS: Police brutality and harrassment is a real thing in this country. It is not a dream or something projected by the black community.

An example in Milwaukee would be that in the last three months there has been a killing of a black person in the Milwaukee community. The problem—not just the death—which all black people, not only in Milwaukee, but across the country, are beginning to deal with—but the fact is that there is nothing that can be done to the police department or to police chiefs in this country who allow this kind of action to take place.

There is a kind of precedent that will be set that will allow for the genocide war against black people this coming summer. The fact that there is a law in Milwaukee that says you can't register a complaint against the police unless you are a homeowner, prevents the black community from being able to respond to the kind of things that are happening to black peo-

ple in that community—and I am sure that this is not just the case in Milwaukee, but is the case in many communities.

Police brutality and harrassment, as shown in history, kind of wears a mask, and the mask is being revealed again, as it was with many Jews who were being killed and systematically destroyed. There was a process taking place in Germany to begin to eliminate the Jews. I think that process is beginning to take place in this country.

We are much closer to it than you think. We see it constantly. But I think you have begun to look in these communities and find out what these police departments are doing.

The fact that our country at this point of time is not concerned about how we deal with the problems of that situation that creates riots and the problems that create rebellion and rebellious acts, but is only concerned about how we control the rioting and how we control the rebellion and rebellious acts, which has broken away and grown from another kind of sickness, is an example of what we are talking about. The government is supplying the police department with weapons. The Mayor of Detroit, Cavanaugh, wants a helicopter or two. Other mayors are trying to get military weapons into their communities to deal with black people.

This is real. This is no joke. Police brutality and harrassment now will later begin to be outright police murder.

MR. BARRY: Another thing is psychological. We have in Washington a police force 80 per cent white, and the population in Washington is 65 per cent black. A white policeman will come on the corner and see about 10 or 15 young men, "dudes", as we call them, and they will tell them, "Go home. Go somewhere. Get away from here."

They don't recognize the fact that the men have no home to go to. They have no place for recreation, no recreation center. Sometimes their homes are so bad for them psychologically, they want to stay out.

The second thing is how you treat people. I have seen this in Georgetown, a white section of Washington, where I have seen a policeman see a man who was intoxicated, and he is out—drunk. They pick him up and say, "Where do you live?" And call a cab for him and put him in the cab and send him home.

I saw one cop in Georgetown pay the taxi driver \$1.50. He paid it.

On 14th Street and 7th Street, that same drunk would be put in the paddy wagon.

I have seen officers call him, "Boy" and "Nigger." And they whack around with the billy clubs—hit them in the head.

That is the kind of thing I am talking about. You act like an alien occupied army that has come in, not to protect us, but to harrass and intimidate us.

There is the whole attitude of the policeman in some of our poor communities. If you call a policeman, he never shows up. You really need him. Somebody is breaking into your home. You have to have law and order. I have no problem with that. You call a cop, and he gets there an hour later.

In Southeast Washington there was a specific case where a lady got killed while her son was calling the police to come. Her husband who had had some problems, was getting ready to kill her, and the cops didn't come, and she got killed.

Those are some of the things that happen, that don't happen in Georgetown—west of the park. I have been there, and I don't see it.

MR. LEWIS: Gentlemen, we will have a final question from this panel from Dr. Clark.

DR. CLARK: I want to get back to the panel's judgment of—how do you think the United States Chamber of Commerce could be relevant to improving the predicament of the urban poor? Or to put it another way, how can one improve the predicament of the urban poor in ways that would be profitable to American business and industry?

MR. LEWIS: Who wants to take that question?

Mr. Givings, you seem to be giving it some thought.

MR. GIVINGS: I was giving the word "profitable" some thought. I don't know why it has to be profitable.

DR. CLARK: Because it won't happen otherwise.

MR. GIVINGS: My feeling is that the American society is basically surrounded by the almighty dollar, that is what this country functions on.

If, in fact, industry and the United States Chamber of Commerce are really concerned about the problems that exist in our country, I think what we have to begin to say to those people who have power and their dollars—you will support and you will give to the programs that are relevant, to the programs that are going to begin to solve problems, and that, as your united voice, the people who are members of the United States Chamber of Commerce, will pool or develop on their own base, from which they see their funds going, they see their money for support going.

People here today, if they choose to do so, could form a base of funding that would allow money to reach your urban communities, that really have laid out some programs for solving problems. Or that they can leave here going into their own communities, and begin to look at more creative ways in which they can open up job areas, in contacting people in their communities who are really getting close to the grass roots, the indigenous people, and dealing with problems—people like Marion Barry, who is close to them,—and like my-

self—who are out there in the community, with the grass roots, and who are here today, trying to reinterpret what we hear, what we see.

I think that you people here can perform those kinds of coalitions in your communities, with the real grass roots, and begin creatively to open up ways to solve problems in your communities.

You can do it on a national basis by forging some type of organization under the banner of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

MISS RICHARDSON: He answered for me.

MR. BARRY: Let me add a couple of points. It is your attitude that is very important in terms of your own personnel problems. I think we have to deal with help and tests in this whole thing a lot differently—and going out and actively recruiting—and not saying that you want to recruit 5000 hard-core. You have to learn and develop ways to do it. We have some ideas how to do that, too.

This is an example. I was talking to a businessman the other day, of a large company, in this town. He was talking about the problems he was having with his service help, his maids and janitors.

I said, "Have you ever done this? Have you ever had a meeting with all your maids and janitors and told them that you appreciate what they are doing, that they are a vital part of this company?"

And he said, "I never thought about that."

Now they are beginning to do that. There are a lot of little things you can do in addition to what Jimmi has said about the money. The main thing is to increase your contact and your conferences. We have some ideas—we know how to develop these projects. Give us some money, and let us do it.

MR. LEWIS: We would now like to take up phase 2 of our morning program. I trust by this time you have met the gentlemen next to you, and you have gotten acquainted, and I trust you planted the seed of a beginning and long-term, solid kind of a friendship.

At this point, we will go to the questions from the audience, and we will conduct this until the conclusion of this morning's session.

I have a number of cards. The first one is for all three of you. Does the welfare system help or hurt people in the ghetto? And how?

MISS RICHARDSON: I feel very strongly that the welfare system is a back-breaking system that was made to completely take away the pride of the black woman in the ghetto area. I don't know how many of you know how the system works.

In my city, a social worker can come into your house, look into your closets, and check if you have a brand new television set. They want to investigate

how you got it. Your children must live within the budget. One moment that you go out of the budget, you are cut off assistance.

I consider this a form of slavery, because you must do as you are told, or you won't get money. This to me means that you can't have pride. I know many recipients who cannot live off the welfare that is given them, and go out and get day work. It means if they are found out, their assistance is cut. They are told that, "You don't know. You just don't do those types of things."

If you go into a DPA office, the first thing you are met with is hostility, like I am giving you my money, and you better do as I say, or else.

No DPA recipient is called "Miss" or "Mrs." They are "Lulu, look here, you don't do those things." "Lulu, I am going to come see you."

I am sure you won't want your wife caught in that predicament. Our black males don't like it.

DPA, as we call the Department of Public Assistance in our area, is a sick part of your society. It is not to better a person, so much as it is to degrade them, and you can never stand up on your own two feet.

MR. GIVINGS: I would have to agree very strongly with Mary here. And the only thing that I could say to that is that the Department of Public Welfare is not trying to solve problems or to take people off welfare.

It serves as a strong mechanism in our society to increase dependence of the people who are on it. And I think that an example of this is that we find ourselves with an educational system that does not try to utilize or develop skills. They should educate social workers to go out and work on the bad psychological effects that welfare has on the black community—so they can't continue to just kind of perpetuate the problem and keep it alive and keep it going.

I think the Department of Public Welfare, in many, many ways, is the safeguard for a system to keep those people who are oppressed—and keep them humble and keep them beneath manhood and womanhood—and it serves as a fine tool for a racist society or racist concept.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Barry, would you have a comment on that?

MR. BARRY: Just to add to what Jimmi and Mary have said. The welfare system in this country puts the burden on the individual—it makes people think it is the greatest thing in the world to be poor. They don't understand it is the system that we live in that causes that to the largest extent.

In Washington, there is the thing called the man-in-the-house rule. If you are on welfare in Washington and the welfare investigator can come in any time he wants to—midnight, noon, or night—if he finds a man in your house, you are cut off.

That eliminates the natural kinds of urges and associations women have. They have to go out and carry on natural biological kinds of things that we have to deal with, outside the home.

As Mary says, it is degrading. It doesn't give you hope of developing and getting off of welfare. In Washington, if you get a job, your rent goes up. It is sometimes to your advantage not to work, because you can live at a cheaper rate.

MR. LEWIS: I would like to go on to another question, which is a comment. The author of this question is a very famous man in baseball circles, whose name I won't mention, but he says: I doubt very much if the audience really understands the difference between aspirations and possibilities for a poor, black man as opposed to those for a poor white man. I wonder if someone would try to take that up.

MR. BARRY: I will start, and I am sure Mary and Jimmi will want to add to it.

I think that the poor white person, deep in the back of his head, is the thought—"I don't know of any white person who is poor because he is white, but I do know of some blacks who are poor because they are black."

I think in the back of the minds of poor whites that I know, is the thought—"If I get an education and do all right, I can always get me a job, and I can escape into the white society. I am not immobile. I can move from Appalachia to New York, get some job training and become a part of the white society."

Whereas, black people can never think that. We have the feeling, regardless of how good we do or how hard we work, there is still the barrier of blackness to stop us at some point along the line. That is the way I see the difference—white poor always know that they can move up. They can keep going. They are not kept down because of their color. Black people can't get that feeling.

MR. GIVINGS: First, let me say that I think also we are repeating ourselves—but Marion is right. I would like to add one thing to that—the poor whites in this country have, by virtue of their whiteness, a way in which they can proceed and a way in which they can travel. Psychologically, the roads are open.

Blacks are, in fact, given a closed road, from birth right on through the society. No doors are ever opened. Consequently, the initiative, the drive and what has to be established at an early stage in the same process cannot be easily given to blacks. It can be easily given to whites, whether they are poor or rich.

It is a shame that we find it happening—that, in this society, the most overt racism that exists comes from the poor white, who is constantly unaware of it, but his condition constantly is being used as a tool by a power system and Establishment to make life even that much more difficult for black people.

In most urban areas in this country, the poor whites find themselves on the periphery of black communities and are in most cases, the overt racists of the black community, but they are being used—they are tools, they are pawns, they are being used.

It would be, hopefully, my idea that some day poor whites and blacks would join a revolution in this country—that, in effect, would cause change, would cause in-depth change. But, as they are now positioned, they don't have that opportunity—they are being used as well as black people.

MISS RICHARDSON: I would show the difference by using the DPA system which is your welfare system in this country. There are very few black social workers who go to visit poor white families. I have heard of cases and have been involved in cases where a poor white woman will go to her DPA office and request a white social worker, and request the time that social worker will pay a visit. This is not done with poor blacks. We can't do it at all.

I have also seen where a poor white person might not get her check in time. She will go to the DPA office and is given an emergency grant until the check comes. I have seen poor black women go with their children, because they don't find it possible to get baby-sitters, and are told that they must wait until an investigation can be made to see where their checks went to.

I call this a form of racism. This is one of the differences between poor whites and poor blacks—that even though we are on the same level of poverty, we are still treated differently.

MR. LEWIS: I would like to say to the panel on my left, if you want to pop in on the question occasionally, you may, but I hope it will be relative to a question I have asked from the audience. I have another question—Television in America today has a strong influence on the minds of today. How can the television be used to change attitudes and correct our attitudes?

MISS RICHARDSON: I personally feel that the news media throughout the country are racist. If they would just start telling the truth, instead of going out to try to indoctrinate people to their way of thinking.

I have had several opportunities to appear on discussion programs and have been informed, "Mary, you can't do this this way." Or "You can't do it that way. You have to do it just this way."

And by doing it just that way, I can only say what you want to hear, and, believe me, it is not the truth. I think, if they would allow people to be themselves, and tell you how they feel regardless of who might be hurt, you can get a better understanding, and there can be a communication, because that is what television is for, to communicate.

MR. GIVINGS: I would agree with Mary and say also that there has to be an honest communication system, whereby the television can be used.

An example would be the civil rights struggle in the South when it was necessary for this country to make some kind of honest commitment about the violence—at least preventing the violence that was happening in the South—black people being beaten, using electric cattle prods on black marchers. I think if the news media and the television people had portrayed an honest picture of this, so that, in effect, the conscience of America could come to the fore and say, "We have to do something about this problem."

It seems very interesting now that in reverse, when Stokely Carmichael got up and said, "Black power," that the only thing that the television people were willing to show was Stokely when he was enraged and emotional and said, "Black power," but when it came for him to give a logical and rational breakdown of what he meant—an intellectual one—maybe this is the problem, maybe the news media can't deal with intellectual ideas—maybe at that point, they couldn't deal with anything that was said.

An honest and complete picture has to be portrayed, and I think television has to be used in that manner, as it is used in many cases in educational films.

MR. BARRY: We discovered that in our communities the news media—not just television—seemed to like to play upon conflicts. If Jimmi and I have an internal kind of conflict, try to deal with it, and we got a discussion going, it seems that the news media run to Jimmi trying to find out about it—and then they come to me and ask me something about it—and they play up controversy and conflict rather than looking at those programs that are doing something.

In this city, for instance, I think Pride has tried to do a lot of things. In Philadelphia, Mary is doing things. Jimmi is in Milwaukee. What the newspapers do is not look at the constructive things. They pick up some things that happened up here—conflict—and report it.

Secondly, I don't think television has taken a bold step, taken some men and put out some documentaries, and shown them to the American people, so they can see it. I don't think they have done what they ought to be doing, and they have a long ways to go.

MR. LEWIS: Since the communication arts are a part of my area of concern, I would like to say two or three things, one of which is that the image of the Negro in America is very bad. It is bad because you sit there and wonder—and I have some questions here that reflect your wonderment. We pour millions of dollars into the black community every year. We pass special legislation for these people. And they don't seem to be doing anything.

What happens to all this effort and all this money? And black people look at the picture and they say,

"These people keep talking about all the money they are giving us, they keep talking about all the things they are doing for us, and we don't see anyone getting anywhere."

What is missing is the middle-class success story. No one has ever told that. I had an occasion a year or so ago when a national magazine called me and asked me if I would show one of the photographers around, because they were doing the story of the Negro in America. And I said, "Yes, I would be happy to do that."

I was paid handsomely to direct this young man around.

But when I met him, I discovered he already knew what he wanted to photograph. What he wanted was an old, dirty, shabby lot, where children were playing, not well-dressed children—the "right" kind of kids. He wanted a church where they really had the spirit. And he wanted to watch some of the extremists who speak on street corners in New York, sort of stirring up a group of people. This is what he wanted.

And I asked him why he wanted this—that here was the old stereotype again.

"Well," he said, "this is what I need."

I tried to get him interested in people who were doing things—a young writer, a couple of other people—but he said, "No, because the white people, if they see Negroes being successful, they won't want to help them."

Actually, there is a good, untold story of middle-class success in America, and television and other mass media have ignored this just about completely.

If you watch television, you would imagine the black population in America might be 1/2 of 1 per cent, and most of them would be people who are either going to jail or just getting out.

And the impression you have is kind of frightening—so frightening in fact, that, when we talk about crime in the streets, we are talking essentially about Negro crime—overlooking completely the large percentage of crime committed by white people.

And so, the image of the black man in America is a very bad one. And television and radio and other mass media generally do not do a great deal to correct this erroneous picture.

I think we can move on to the next question.

MR. BARRY: I would like to add one point, since we are talking about television. I think about advertising agencies in the same way. For instance, if you watch the TV, black in this country is a negative term—everything you talk about is black—black male, black this or anything. If you watch, you see the Dodge boys wearing white hats, and this kind of thing.

I think the television people and advertising men have a white swan. Everything beautiful on television is white. The cowboys ride white horses. They are the good guys. The bad guys ride black horses.

The advertising agencies ought to be thinking about it.

One thing that they did when they made that movie CLEOPATRA—they were interested in making money. Everyone who knows history knows that Cleopatra was an Egyptian, and was at least brown, she wasn't white.

Those are the kinds of things that happen—that result in racist kinds of things that go on.

MR. LEWIS: My next question is a familiar question. We have heard it asked many times by people of good will. I would like the panel, if I may, to consider this one. There are dozens of projects, programs, aimed at the urban crisis. How can a concerned private citizen get involved? What can he do that is practical and helpful, rather than just engage in an exercise in idealism?

I am sure you have all heard that question many times. And I am sure by this time, you must have developed a pretty good answer to that.

I think the thing that has to be done by individuals on a private basis, or even on a collective basis, in many white communities, is to have coalitions of white groups formed. When white people become aware of a problem that exists, they can no longer just deal with the problem in terms of their intellect. That problem has to be dealt with in terms of meaningful action, and developments, in the community—white community groups, white coalition groups, that do understand black power, that do support the concept of black power, as it is organized in black communities. They have to begin to interpret that to the total white communities.

There has been no problem with the Jews in America, and in Germany, except for the fact that the rest of the world was silent and by their silence they gave consent. If today white communities remain silent, they will be, in effect, saying to the government—the present Administration—"You have my consent to annihilate black communities." You have to begin to organize white power groups in your communities that will say to the Establishment, "You know you are wrong. You are absolutely wrong. We understand, we have an understanding in depth of what the problem is, and you have to begin finding ways to deal with the problem, rather than just sitting or exercising the thing in your terms of your own intellect."

MISS RICHARDSON: I would like to add that many of you people sitting in the audience have the power to get to those people who will not listen to the average black people in the ghetto area. I would like to see groups starting that would investigate certain things that are going on in black communities around the country. And because these people whom we cater to are your friends, start educating them to the problem and evaluate them and come up with things, and getting

those guys off our backs—and you are more capable of getting them off our backs than the rest of us are here.

I can't get to the mayor of our city. He moves too quickly for me. But he moves in the same circles that you people in the audience do. We have a problem and you can tell him about it.

MR. BARRY: I would like to differentiate between what a private individual can do and what you can do in terms of your corporation or business—and this deals with the private sort of thing. As Mary says, you can understand and develop the idea that black people in 1968 can't believe themselves—we have to develop leadership to do what we want to do, and white people can privately support that. If you live in Silver Spring or Chevy Chase, or in your community—when these things come up at lunch, you have to support the right of the black people to make decisions among themselves for themselves.

I think, secondly, when the call goes out for money or for other kinds of things, you can do that—but I think more specifically in some instances, you can give some expertise.

One thing we don't have enough of in our community is people with experience, particularly in economics and business. So you can give that. But giving that expertise has to be done under the leadership of black people.

Third, you can't look at us as monolithic black. You have to look at each program and see whether it is getting at the 90 per cent—those I was talking about earlier.

We have had enough programs to deal with the 10 per cent.

Any programs that deal concretely with power and dignity and strength and awareness for the 90 per cent are the kinds of programs I think you ought to get involved in.

MR. LEWIS: Would it be safe to say, Miss Richardson and gentlemen, what is needed most from white America is a commitment to work on the problems? Is that what you are saying?

MR. GIVINGS: I think that is what we are saying. Let me reiterate what Barry is saying—that is, there are many, many programs going on around the country that white people have supported. And they constantly ask themselves this. Evidently, what we have done isn't going to solve the problem. The blacks are still rioting or still having their revolution. So—you know—I will stop pouring in money.

You have to consider what organizations you are pouring money into, what groups of people are really down with the grass roots. And you have to begin to support black power groups, begin to support groups who say, "Damn, if you don't give it, then we will take it."

You will find out that is where the force really lies in the black community. We can all name certain groups in Washington—and all over the country, for that matter—that, if they are given large sums of money, but are not doing the job, are not taking care of the business—if you continue to support them, you may ease your conscience, but you won't do anything about solving the problems.

MISS RICHARDSON: I think one thing that needs to be said very, very clearly is that white people will have to look within themselves. If you hate black people, admit it. It is a lot better than holding it in and doing something, because it is "the thing" to be a white do-gooder. If you do not solve this problem within yourself, then you will only be someone who really does not have a program for black people.

MR. BARRY: Another point is that I think a lot of white people are saying, "Why should I support somebody who curses me out, who says I am a racist? Why should I give my money to a group that doesn't like me, or doesn't seem to like me?"

And I think this relates to the realities of America—and one of the realities is that you have to understand that personality if we are to solve that problem, because people are mad enough to do that. After you are cursed out and called a bunch of names, get in there and support a program that will alleviate the problem, and you will find in the long run that it will work out, the curses go out, and what is worth while remains.

That is hard to learn to take, but that is the reality of where we are.

MR. LEWIS: The next question is another one I think you have heard before. You blame white racists for many of the problems while at the same time supporting black racism. Isn't the ultimate solution a sincere effort to forego all racism and let us support the best leaders, white or black?

MR. BARRY: I think you mix it up. Whoever wrote the question is all mixed up. It is like this. If I walk up and hit Jimmi Givings in the face, and then he hits me back, he is not hitting me, he is reacting to me. What is happening in this country is that black people are reacting to racism. It is not the same thing—to say black people do not like white people is the same as white people not liking black people—black people are reacting to racism of white people, and I think that is where we are. I don't think we equate those things. I don't think we can equate the black power group with the KKK. There is no comparison. You can't compare a policy to a reaction.

Nobody told KKK and George Wallace to intimidate and harass black people. If black people defend themselves in that harassment, they aren't in the same category.

That is my answer—that you can't compare them.

MR. GIVINGS: There is going to be rather a contradictory answer here to what Barry has said. We will talk about it later.

Let me first say that there are men who are running for President of this country and who are racist, and may win on a racist philosophy. Racism may be a form in which black people can obtain power.

You have all kinds of "kooky" groups in the white society—why can't we have them in the black society?

We are human beings. We are not any different.

We started off with a push toward integration, a push toward brotherly love, and all the jazz we have been listening to for so long, and we find out that the white society did not believe it itself. It did not believe that integration could be a meaningful process, that black people could achieve dignity in the society through integration.

Now we are building our own power base, to build our own base from which black people will operate. We say whites are racist, black can be racist. What is wrong? How come I want to be racist?

I think it is a ridiculous question. I think it is part of a sick society, in that, if we hung up on that racism, we don't go anywhere. Racism can be used as a tool to develop power like anything else. I don't find anything racist.

MISS RICHARDSON: I think people can love us. I don't think they can be put in the racist category. My people will never hate on the basis of color. They will hate on the basis of deeds that are done to us. I don't think my black brothers are haters. I think they hate what has been done to them. If this is a term of racism, then I plead guilty. But I don't think that what they are hating is your color. I think it's what you stand for. And that is the difference between the Ku Klux Klan and the black power group. They hate what is being done to people, and the Klan is different.

MR. LEWIS: Let's go into the next question. Much has been said about the recognition of the Negro and his rights in our society. At what point would you say the Negro has responsibilities to the society in which he lives?

MR. GIVINGS: You mean like dying in Viet Nam?

MR. LEWIS: That might be one.

MR. GIVINGS: None whatsoever.

MISS RICHARDSON: Repeat the question.

MR. LEWIS: Much has been said about the recognition of the Negro, and his rights in our society. At what point would you say that the Negro has responsibilities to the society in which he lives?

MISS RICHARDSON: When he starts getting the rights you are talking about, and that is the only answer I can give—that I can think of.

We are sitting here now, telling you that we have never had our own power. I don't think we owe anybody anything until we start getting something.

MR. BARRY: That answers it.

MR. LEWIS: I think that maybe we ought to try to dig into that a little more.

MR. GIVINGS: Let me say that, first off, black people have made—this shows how your educational system has cheated you. I don't know how many of you are executives of large business. I know a lot of you are. I don't know how you made it because your educational system has cheated you. Black people have contributed to this society since its beginning. They have done things in this society that are a part of its whole cultural base. We have made our commitment. We continue to make our commitment in Viet Nam and in other respects. Blacks are dying in Viet Nam. What other kind of commitment are you asking that we make? What kind do you want?

I think the answer to that question is, basically, from my point of view—I am asking that white people make no commitments to this society until this society is prepared to make commitments to its blacks.

MR. LEWIS: I think that maybe this question is pointed at the so-called lawlessness of black people, and I think, if you are going to consider that, you have to consider again our different frames of reference.

If you can call a policeman and he comes, and I can call one, and he doesn't come, we don't have the same concept of what law is. If the law works for you and can convict me in 30 days—and I can't get heat all winter, I don't have much respect for laws that permit this variance. If this is what we are talking about—I think that may be what we are talking about.

The question asks about responsibilities to society. I think you have to consider the different frames of reference, our different lives in the same country, our different experiences—and a man is guided by his experience. I think that the experience of black people, many black people with the law has been that the law does not work for them, they do not have the respect for the law that many people in the white communities have.

MR. BARRY: I think that, traditionally, in America, when governments are set up and societies exist, it is for the benefit of the people within. The government is there to serve the people and work for the people—then people have a responsibility to work with the government. That is true. We are saying here that the society has not seen fit to allow and give the blacks an

opportunity to do what they want to do, and, therefore, the question is: Should that happen, should you then be expected to do that?

On the other hand, I have a feeling—I believe very much in self-help, I believe in blacks helping themselves, too. But let us do it because we want to do it, not because we want to feel like we have to do it. If we don't do it, we are not responsible and we are not pulling ourselves up by the bootstraps. I believe in self-help. I want the society not to condemn me because of what they have done to me—I have a responsibility to break out of this bind.

People living in public housing are made to feel they are responsible for living in there. That is bad in a society that is responsible for putting them in there.

MR. LEWIS: I think we ought to turn to the panel on the left whom I have virtually ignored, trying to get these questions from the floor.

Dr. Clark handed me a note saying they feel sort of segregated over there, too. I am sort of obligated, you know, to turn to our panel. Dr. Clark.

DR. CLARK: I feel excluded, doubly or triply in the minority. And I think we are working on the assumption that dialogue necessarily clarifies. My problem is that we don't find that to be true in too many dialogues. Dialogue also confuses. And one other comment I would like to make is that I think that, when the history of this nation's struggle with this phase of the civil rights movement is written, it probably will indicate that it has been talked to death.

The basic heart of the fundamental issues were avoided by the society that found it more convenient to talk or to write about—or to have commissions deal with the verbal part.

Let that be by way of context in which I wanted to make this comment about Negro responsibility. I am fascinated by the fact that first the question is asked—and it is always asked in a kind of self-righteous manner—and I am even more fascinated by the fact that three extraordinarily intelligent and articulate human beings on my far right bought the premise of that question.

I personally would reject the premise of that question.

The fact of the matter is that the Negro in America has been making the most difficult contributions to America since he has been here, and particularly within the last century, since emancipation, and even more so since the 1940s.

Anyone who dares to ask this question about the responsibility of the Negro to American society does not understand the nature of American society or the nature of American democracy, namely, what we have witnessed is that the most disadvantaged group in America has had to bear the most difficult struggle of

trying to solidify American democracy, which he cannot do for his exclusive benefit.

The fact of the matter is that the major struggles to try to make America meaningful and to try to make America—as one of these young people said—be more than a verbal, hypocritical form of democracy, and to be a thorough democracy, has been, ironically, carried on by the most disadvantaged group in America.

If that isn't responsibility, I don't know what responsibility is.

And I end on what might sound to some of you to be a bitter note. The inability to see that is another example of the kind of blindness and distortion which the sickness imposes upon not just whites, but clearly, it seems to be imposing it upon Negroes. If we continue at this type of blindness, if we continue to engage in alleged dialogues that merely permeate distortion and blindness, then I don't see the dialogue as clarifying a thing. I think dialogues are merely going to reinforce black blindness, white blindness, polka-dot blindness, while this country seems to be going merrily, chattefully, panel-dominated, commission-report-dominated, to hell.

MR. SMITH: There is a matter that always troubles me a little bit. The term "black power" has been bandied about, and the semantics bother me. This term has been bandied about in the press for many, many months. It has been used here this morning on several occasions. It means different things to different people, and I would like to have the panel kind of express what it means to them.

MR. LEWIS: The gentleman is calling for a definition of "black power."

MR. BARRY: My whole thing about that is, let me say this—Ken has just said—I have to get acclimated to this kind of audience. I thought that people knew about that—that is why I talked about another point. I usually don't get into that question. It really doesn't get into the essence of what we are talking about. We give our definition, and after we do that, everybody doesn't understand what it is. If you give a definition of what black power is, then you have to spend all your time explaining what it is, and that is not what we ought to be doing.

MR. LEWIS: Will you buy that answer, Mr. Smith?

MR. SMITH: If that is the answer I get, I have to.

MR. LEWIS: The next question from the audience is this. As soon as the Negro is placed in a position of participation and control, he is frequently then referred to as "Uncle Tom." Why?

MISS RICHARDSON: Well, let's see. You have to stop and realize that the only guys that you talk to are the ones you consider have met your standards. And these guys, in turn, look down upon us. You have sent them to deal with us.

We have six of them, and when we raise hell in our city, they send the panel, the white Toms, who have no education, but is somebody's cousin, and you send the Negro who is specially trained to divert my attention from my problem to something else.

I admit now, since certain changes in this country, we have very few "Toms" left. They realize they have been trained to divert the average poor black away from our problem. But until we get rid of those last few, especially those on the international scene, we are going to have to look down on them.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Givings.

MR. GIVINGS: I don't really know. By the statement that black people who begin to express a dialogue or participate in the form of the society we have—we live in—it is from an administrative point that they become a Tom. We as blacks—and this is primarily pointed to blacks—can find ourselves being caught up in a much more sophisticated game of keeping the black community split.

I think we have to determine first who it is that is a Tom. It could very easily be when we leave here that Mary Richardson and myself are called Toms. I don't really buy that. I think that maybe that is a trick to be used to keep the black community divided much more.

If, in effect, black people were educated and black people who are intellectuals become a part of a meaningful, indigenous revolution and begin to offer the kinds of expertise we have to develop, and make changes in the black society, then I think that, in this respect, they are not, in effect, Toms. But they are the real revolutionaries of the society—seeing how most revolutionaries have come out of a middle-class society—Che Guevara was a doctor, Castro was a lawyer, Lenin was a very well-educated man.

I don't buy the stuff about Tomism. The black man has to stop calling any man who infiltrated the "system" and is trying to find out about what it is, is a Tom. We can recognize them ourselves.

MR. BARRY: In 1968 you discovered—whoever asked the question is a little bit behind schedule. In our communities we have stopped talking about Uncle Toms and sell-outs, and so forth, because, as Jimmi said, this is a device to divide us. You notice now, like in Washington, you have a whole segment of the community working together from the most middle class to the most ghetto brothers. Again, you have to learn that. You will hear that in the future, because we are coming together now.

MR. LEWIS: I have another question here. Some nice person out there. The question is: Do you have some suggestions on hard-core minority hiring. The gentleman says they expect to start a program and intend to be successful. How would they go about recruiting hard core?

MR. BARRY: That question would take a seminar in itself on the various ways you get the hard-core, and the only thing I can say is, first, you have to define what you are talking about when you say hard core. You have to define the kind of man you are looking for.

And secondly, you have to know where you find them. Believe me, everybody doesn't know where to find them. We do, and we sort of keep it a secret. Sometimes we put them in the right situation.

But thirdly, I think the old attitude about how you approach them has to be different than how you approach them now.

Fourthly, the whole thing of testing and the idea of what you are looking for has to be examined. It is hard for me to give you an answer, except to say that it would take a couple of hours to discuss.

Those four ideas hit me and might help you.

And the fifth one is that a certain attitude has to be evolved that doesn't degrade him, doesn't make it seem like you are doing him a big favor. They don't have to be looked at as freaks. They have to be put into a situation where they are made part of the situation, and are important, work in jobs worthwhile.

MR. GIVINGS: I would suggest that whoever it was that raised that question return to his community—if they read the paper—and find out who it is that the white Establishment really hates—and come down and go to that person and ask him to help him develop a program in which you can bring hard-core people into the organization.

MR. LEWIS: I just want to say that all of you really don't have to comment on each of these questions. If you have something to say, be free to say it.

Sometimes I sort of get the impression that you really didn't want to comment on one.

MISS RICHARDSON: That is all right. We decided to work as a team.

I have just two suggestions, and I came a little bit prepared for that, because the kids themselves decided they wanted to give you their thinking. The kids went and applied for jobs and were interviewed by social workers that many of your companies hired—and they have a short sentence of what the interviewer said—and then their own interpretation of that sentence. And the first one is David Jones. And the interviewer believed that David is not ready for a job, but should be referred to discuss his previous experience with jobs. The application should be properly prepared

in a short period of time. He should fit the machinery very well.

David's answer to that is: Not ready, but must have money to live. Have done six years in jail. You don't make out applications in jail. I am ready to fit into any type of job, because I don't have time to get a good job.

Clarence Jones said his interviewer said: "Clarence will need a great deal of support, in my judgment. He seems eager to work at this time. He is scheduled for BES test, and will call and see if machine operator's jobs are available on Monday."

Clarence answer to him is: "I need a great deal of support in finding someone who will accept me as an employee. I am eager to work because I want to live. I am scheduled for a test because they think I am ignorant to a certain degree. The test is not valid of me. It is a test valid of them. Will call and see me. Don't need to be in a machine operator's job. Have trouble. I am fumble-fingered."

Tex Murphy: "Tex needs to have some help in how to fill out an application. He made some errors in both cards of BTI, which he was given to do. I think he is to be referred now and, with a lot of persistent support, can be successful."

His answer: "I am a gang leader. I am successful as far as my ghetto is concerned. I need help in learning to know me. I need help in learning what I am. I need help in learning how to stay on the job."

That is all. I think that should answer your question in terms of how you go about employing the grass roots.

MR. LEWIS: We will go on to the next question. What do you specifically mean by the phrase, Miss Richardson—this is directed to you—"jobs which are meaningful to us"? What do you specifically mean by the phrase "jobs which are meaningful to us"?

MISS RICHARDSON: We have a thing up here for women. I am waiting for my brothers to answer first, and then I will take it up.

MR. BARRY: The guys don't want to be treated like a fixture. You take a restaurant dishwasher. That is the lowest-paid job, and the least-respected job in the whole joint. He gets \$1.30 a hour, if that much. He says outside the shop the dishwasher is the most important man in the restaurant. If you don't wash the dishes, you get a lot of dirty dishes.

They are not respected because they don't get a higher salary. They should be treated as an integral part of whatever they are doing. It is not the job itself. It is how they are treated on the job, how they are looked at, because they also tell us that they can make that much money on the street hustling.

It is easier, and they can drive a Cadillac, and that kind of thing. It is the kind of job and the attitude

you give to them on that job. And the dishwasher or the garbage man or the street cleaner or the maid or porter, has to be looked upon as a person with some value, and some worth. That is the way I look at it.

MISS RICHARDSON: The way I meant it was that many of the jobs that have been offered to the gang kids of different cities are jobs that can be replaced very quickly by automation. The kids felt they will soon have families, if they don't have them already. If the job cannot take them into a future, then they will just go from one job to another, and never be able to stay in one place—and this is what I mean by a job that is meaningful.

MR. GIVINGS: I think the point that Miss Richardson made at the end was the one I would react to. That is that jobs opened to black people should be jobs that have a future, so they can move from one level to the next one in an organization, and right on up. It is like I recall when my father began working. He was considered a laborer. But he worked his way up through the ranks, where he reached a point where he was head of the union out there.

That is the kind of job that is only open in certain kinds of fields and, as we get more and more involved in automation, it becomes very difficult in going into an organization, to work your way up. You people come in at the top. The kind of jobs that have to open up for the black community have to offer an opportunity for upgrading, jobs that are relevant in terms of building not only within the total system, but within subsystems of our system. Jobs involving construction—jobs that are involved in the electrician unions are tight—and they have to open these up and let black people in, so they can make meaningful contributions, not only to the total society, but to their own communities. These are the kinds of jobs that young black people are interested in having, not the kind of jobs OEO opens up for the summer and, after the summer, drops them back, after the emergencies of the summer are over.

MR. LEWIS: Now, this is the last question I have. This is a pointed one, and will trigger some debate. What more do you want? Specifically, in Washington you have a Negro mayor, the majority of the Council is Negro, the majority of the District of Columbia employees are Negro. You have all the policy decision-making power. Why not use it constructively, as the white man does, instead of destructively as you did in the public hearing on 313?

That will take a Washingtonian to answer. Mr. Barry, it looks like you are elected.

MR. BARRY: It is probably directed at me. We were involved in the fight to stop the freeway from being built here.

Black visibility is not the same thing as black power or black control or black awareness, because, even with Mayor Washington being in, he doesn't have the power—because the District doesn't have any government that is elected. Mr. Washington is appointed by the President of the United States, which means he has to serve at the pleasure of the President of the United States—which means there are certain things that he knows that he can and cannot do—and I know it, too.

That is not enough. We are saying that we need people in office who can be responsive and responsible to our municipality.

There is one thing about Negroes in jobs in Washington. You find that 52 per cent of all Federal jobs are grouped in GS-4 to GS-8 or GS-9. You have less than 10 per cent of the black people in jobs in Washington over a GS-9. You find that in the departments here, highways and other places, you have Negroes grouped at the bottom, and white people who are the supervisors, at the top.

So I don't think that black visibility is the same thing.

The question is very simple. "What do you want?," people ask. I say, "What do you want? That is what we want—what you want."

That is what we have to get at. I don't think that is asking too much in 1968 in America.

MR. LEWIS: There are one or two things I would like to say. I remember inviting a group of civil rights leaders to a broadcast I was conducting and the topic under discussion was: What does the Negro want?

And one of the answers I got was this: The Negro wants what America has taught him to want. And America should hope that he continues to want that, and only that.

Now, I would like to thank the panel—both this panel of our young leaders, youth leaders—Mr. Givings, Miss Richardson and Mr. Barry.

On my left, too, I would like to thank our professional panel. I would like to call them professionals, because they are engaged in another profession. Mr. Smith, Mr. Patterson, Mr. Johnson, and Dr. Clark.

AFTERNOON SESSION

MR. BOOTH:

On our program this afternoon, we have three men who have prepared papers on different important aspects of the Negro ghetto, and its problems.

Each of these men will give us a brief summary of his paper and then respond to questions.

Our first speaker is a student of some very important questions, such as—Why urban unrest? and, What is the anatomy of disorder? His analysis will help us answer those questions.

Let me present to you, Dr. Sol Chaneles, who will speak on the subject, "Some Contributing Factors to Urban Unrest." Dr. Chaneles.

DR. CHANELES: Thank you, Mr. Booth.

Ladies and gentlemen: During the last ten months we were asked by federal, state and local governmental units, by private industry, by local citizen groups, to look into various aspects of the unrest situation of last summer.

During this time, and particularly around September of last year, one captain of industry, whose first name is Max, handed me a four-page, typewritten letter, single-spaced, chock-full of very penetrating questions. These questions have haunted me right up until this morning, this moment, in fact, and especially one paragraph of his query, which I would like to quote to you.

"I am very much concerned that a conference on urban problems at this time will at least add to the confusion and frustration that exist or, at the worst, do considerable harm by seeming to promise something that cannot be delivered. I fail to understand how a conference of any kind can cope with problems without first finding out what the problems really are."

Max, somewhere out there—the problems that you are talking about are many-layered problems, and I have only attempted to take a first cut at these problems, to peel off one of these many layers.

The work that we have done involved intensive inquiries in 15 of our larger cities, less intensive inquiries in an additional 85 of the 100 largest cities in the country.

The methods are not perfect, but the situation wasn't perfect to do this kind of research.

There are going to be some answers and the answers are going to be tentative.

In preparing the paper, I was guided by three questions.

1. What were the immediate causes of the summer's violence of 1967?
2. Should violence occur in 1968, and after, will these outbursts be different in character from those of last year?
3. Can steps be taken now, short of law enforcement intervention, to prevent new outbursts and contribute at the same time to bringing about needed

changes in the social fabric which will improve the quality of life for all Americans?

This is a streamlined summary of the paper, and I will probably not get around to answering the third question.

If you should raise questions about this later, I would be glad to share some thoughts with you.

I would like, first, to describe the tentative answers we have found to the first two questions and to explain the basis for supporting them.

1. The immediate and underlying causes of urban violence: Most informed Americans are mindful of some of the urban social problems which underlie and contribute to prevailing urban tensions and which exacerbate race relations.

There are many experts among the guests of the Chamber here who are knowledgeable in these matters, who have been speaking about them for 20 years or more—Alinsky, Marshall, Wolfbein, Clark, and others around.

Such problems include inadequate housing; poor employment opportunities; lack of governmental planning, encompassing adequate representation and active participation of the poor, and especially of the average citizen; the failure to maintain adequate communications between people; and so on, down a very long and painful list of underlying problems.

These problems, however, I view as small building blocks, building units, which form very complex configurations of underlying causes of urban tension.

Personally, I do not view any one or combination of these underlying factors as directly contributing to the violence of the past summer.

In looking for the proximate or immediate cause of urban violence, I tried to identify significant factors which, given a particular triggering incident—like the shooting by a policeman of an unarmed teen-ager, or the arbitrary and capricious "roughing up" of a group of youngsters—permit a single, localized incident to escalate into sustained and horrifying pitched battles between ordinary black citizens and an "army of occupation" requiring the presence and repressive techniques of local and state police, the National Guard, the U. S. Army and armed white vigilantes.

In the last few months I have learned that many little old ladies with white sneakers and white caps are taking rifle practice.

I had identified 17 factors or indicators—I use the term interchangeably—which combine into a critical mass, moving in after the triggering incident.

These 17 indicators combine into five clusters, and I would like to describe each of these clusters or areas of factors.

The first has to do with a predisposition to commit violence as a method for producing social change.

This cluster comprises three indicators: First, expressions of the will to commit violent acts. Second, expressions of the will to continue violence after the intervention of law-enforcement controls. Third, expressions of the will to direct violence against specific targets, such as buildings owned by slum-lords, businesses owned by neighborhood merchants who purportedly "gouge" slum people, businesses with very discriminatory hiring practices, and people, as well.

Lest there be any misunderstanding on this first cluster of indicators, the expressions of violence studied are not those articulated solely by Negroes. On the contrary, observation shows that such predispositions to violence have been expressed by both Negroes and whites. It should be noted that, typically, Negro expressions of violence are directed toward targets like buildings and stores; white expressions of violence are directed toward the Negro population.

The second cluster has to do with the existence of violence-readiness factors. This cluster comprises three indicators.

First, informal training centers have emerged where techniques are taught to sharpshoot, prepare different types of Molotov cocktails, commit acts of vandalism, the storing of ammunition, chains, clubs and surplus army weapons, the preparation of escape routes and methods of paralyzing the water supply system.

Such training centers have been in existence in major American cities since the turn of the century and were, until very recently, facilities made up predominantly of white teenagers, who, in organized gangs or other groupings, perpetrated acts of vandalism against schools, places of worship, cemeteries and private homes. These training centers, in the past, I should add, served as places of recruitment for qualified young punks to enter the world of professional and organized crime.

More recently, similar training centers for violence have been created in Negro neighborhoods.

The second indicator which is supportive of predispositions to violence is concerned with the illegal movement of small arms into the central city. In some cities, the scale of illegal small arms sales has attained such proportions that reliable interviewees feel that all males, teenagers and adults, white and Negro, are "armed to the teeth" and prepared for an "all-out shoot-out."

The illegal sale of small arms is quite a different matter from the acquisition of inoperative Army "surplus" weapons, which require expert attention for re-activation. Such "surplus" weapons did not play a role during the summer of 1967. Small arms, however, are purchased as new or only slightly used. They are easy to purchase and are ready to use. Prices, incidentally, range from \$10 in areas of lax controls to \$40 in areas of tight controls. The suppliers of illegal small arms are white adults whose network of distribution reaches

into every city in the land and whose activities are not limited to the sale of weapons.

The third indicator in the violence-readiness cluster has to do with the movement of released misdemeanants and felons, both white and Negro, into urban communities. The abysmal failure of the nation's prison and correctional system, its unanticipated role as a training school for more serious and sophisticated delinquencies and crime, its failure to train the offender in useful trades and to provide meaningful employment are conditions which are fairly well known and need no elaboration here. However, released offenders tend to return to areas of the central city, already tense. Thus, large numbers of persons, already predisposed to react violently to stresses in the community, contribute to and heighten existing urban tensions.

The third cluster has to do with expressions of dissatisfaction with local government. This area comprises four indicators.

First, statements to the effect that local government is generally corrupt; specific allegations that local government cooperates closely with the "Establishment"—the news media and business community—in preventing complete and up-to-date awareness of the grievances of the Negro community; and assertions that local government makes very little effort to enforce local laws and ordinances, thus permitting businessmen and landlords to exploit Negro residents and thwart Negro aspirations.

Second, expressions of skepticism as to the validity and capability of upgrading programs such as intensified educational projects, urban renewal and job-training efforts designed to substantially ameliorate conditions in the slums.

Third, widespread rejection of certain upgrading programs which are viewed as half-hearted "tokenism," especially of anti-poverty programs, and of attempts by the business community to generate low-skilled, marginal jobs for the unemployed. And, fourth, expressions of general dissatisfaction about the dismal amount and quality of health services available in poor neighborhoods.

The fourth cluster includes governmental institutions as breeding grounds for violence.

This cluster comprises two indicators. The first is expression of dissatisfaction with the juvenile and family courts. Although the Gault decision (May 1967) intended to ameliorate the "Kangaroo Court" type of proceedings which characterize most of the nation's juvenile courts, harsh, unjust and self-defeating conditions persist. Heavy calendars, commitment of juveniles to inadequate, over-crowded and inhumane detention facilities and the apparent inability of the juvenile court system to adequately marshal the resources necessary to assist troubled youth and their families combine powerfully to stimulate a motivation to commit violence.

I have heard many youths describe how, during the first hour of their commitment to a juvenile detention facility, they learn to make three different types of fuses for Molotov cocktails.

For a variety of reasons, these courts discourage interested citizens from visiting and observing their parody of justice for juveniles. I strongly urge business leaders to visit these juvenile court and detention facilities to observe how they rapidly transform deprived, puzzled, frightened youths and children into tough, bitterly angry young adults.

The second indicator encompassed by the cluster is concerned with verbalization by both whites and Negroes about police-community relationships. This indicator is probably the weakest of all those studied. The feelings of white urban residents about the local police involves a mixture of contempt for their solicitations of favors and gifts, their petty corruption and their failure to repress the increasing scale and militancy of Negro aspirations.

The feelings of the Negro, by contrast, involve pointed hatred against the proclivity of police to arbitrarily exercise undue force and brutality, and a strong feeling that many acts of police inadequacies are dictated by inept local governmental political leadership. Negro criticism which has the most sensitive value as a tension indicator focuses on complaints that police are told by corrupt local officials to overlook violations of the law perpetrated by white criminals and slum-lords. Allegations of complicity between police, the underworld and officialdom are balanced by specific citations of police assistance rendered for emergency, everyday situations. A trend away from favorable to disparaging statements obviously reveals a mounting of tension.

The fifth cluster has to do with exploitation of the Negro community by the white underworld.

This cluster comprises five factors. There are extensive underworld operations in every sizable city in the nation. The social history of crime in the United States over the past 100 years has shown, in part, a general tendency for the dominant criminal group in a city to become respectable through the investment of criminally acquired profits in legitimate enterprise; subsequently, control of their criminal operations passes into the hands of others.

The forces in the American pattern of prejudice and discrimination which have prevented Negroes from moving into and up in the worlds of real estate, insurance, manufacturing, banking, union leadership, commerce and government are the same which have prevented members of the Negro underworld from moving from their low underworld positions to supplant the current controllers and brokers of crime.

To be sure, Negroes are employed by criminal groups and organizations, but only in minor roles. The broad national movement aimed at producing changes

in leadership in the legitimate socio-economic structure to accommodate Negroes has its counterpart in the underworld.

The first factor in this cluster is concerned with tensions which are generated in the on-going historical movement of Negro succession to positions of control in the underworld.

The remaining factors are specific areas of underworld activity which are, by and large, owned and operated by white criminals but which flourish in Negro neighborhoods. One of these specific areas of economic exploitation, in the sense that the lion's share of the profits move into the pockets of the white crime bosses, is the distribution and sale of stolen merchandise. The third is the distribution and sale of drugs. The fourth is concerned with white ownership and patronage, of houses of prostitution and allied call-girl operations. The fifth is concerned with the white domination in Negro neighborhoods of illegal fiduciary operations such as loan-sharking, gambling and policy games.

By way of summary, these indicators reflect and measure an increasingly aggressive appeal for the redress of long-standing underlying grievances. They clearly show there exists a pervasive climate of violence in virtually every urban center of the nation. This climate of violence is nurtured by and, in turn, feeds the other tension-producing behaviors.

The 1967 outbursts of violence, I contend, were fostered primarily by this climate of violence, generally unrelated to underlying grievances—which, nevertheless, served as an outlet after rather banal triggering events. White and Negro both expressed predispositions to violence; both provoked and retaliated as they promised they would. Their statements were credible and they lived up to their promises. These statements were made long in advance of the eruptions, but the warnings were unheeded.

We have been hearing such warnings articulated since the eruptions subsided last fall. We hear them every day now. Are the promises of violence for 1968 valid?

I turn now to the second question—Will outbursts occur in 1968? Will they be different in character from those in 1967?

Very simply, the answer appears to be "yes." There will be outbursts of violence in 1968 and this year's violence will differ in scope and quality from 1967.

Nothing has changed since last year which would in any way alter the predisposition to violence—neither in the white community nor in the Negro community. There is little reason for believing that all the military hardware in our domestic arsenals will have a real impact in lessening the imminence of renewed violence. No amount of moral oratory or token gestures aimed

at ameliorating racial grievances will have substantial impact in lessening the simmering potential for explosive eruptions. No amount of dialogue or dollars by themselves will stem the dismal tide.

Last summer's outbursts were described by the public, generally, as either "riots" or "disturbances"—terms often used interchangeably. I think there is a very real difference between such phenomena and the violent events which occurred in previous years, usually referred to as "incidents." By "incident," I refer to a very shortlived outburst of violence which takes place in an extremely limited area and often involves many onlookers, but relatively few participants. By "disturbance," I refer to an outburst of violence which is sustained over many hours or days, covering a fairly large geographic area, ultimately involving large numbers of participants who, initially, are attracted to the scene of violence as onlookers and, then, tend to become participants. A "riot," from the standpoint of violence, may achieve the level of either an incident or a disturbance, but is differentiated from either by a framework of political or ideological intent directed at producing changes in the organization of society.

The 1967 outbursts of violence were not rooted in an endeavor to achieve stated objectives. By these definitions, the outbursts of recent years, were incidents and disturbances—but not riots.

In sharp contrast, our experience this year will reveal this added element—engagement in violence and destruction to realize specific goals. There will be incidents of violence in virtually every one of the nation's 100 largest cities, but we may anticipate a smaller number of disturbances. However, the probability is quite high that we shall experience at least 24 politically articulated riots. We may also expect numerous and intensely violent disturbances, triggered by both white and Negro provocations.

The riots this year may well be triggered both by politically motivated white sentiment to suppress and corrode the vigor of the Negro movement for socioeconomic equality of opportunity, and by politically motivated Negro sentiment to use violent methods to break through the institutional rigidity of local government, local business, and local crime brokerages—all of which provide the foundation for white domination and white exploitation of the Negro.

One of the remarkable consequences of the 1967 session of violence was the pressure it exercised in forcing rapid political motivation of fairly large numbers of young Negro men and women. Nearly all of these men and women, in 1967, shared the American value of inexorable, gradual change and the flexibility of American institutions to accommodate change. Their perception of what took place all over the country has encouraged them, virtually overnight, to become more politically sophisticated and realistic. Much of the American value of gradual change, at least for black

Americans, is seen as illusion and the techniques of change which appear to be most appropriate are those of proven success—the techniques employed by local political machines, by local underworld organizations which are often enmeshed in the local political machine, and by the persuasive power of local business.

The policy of peaceful coexistence between rich and poor has overnight been rendered null and void; a climate of political astuteness has been generated among Negroes and is being publicly expressed as a war on "phony liberalism," "official corruption," "officially protected economic exploitation of Negroes." The instrument of this political war is violence.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you very much, Mr. Chaneles.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the Negro ghetto, one message comes through loud and clear. That is the importance of leadership, and the need for a structure of indigenous leadership.

We heard about that this morning.

Our next speaker has been there. He has worked with people in the poor neighborhoods—white ones and black ones. And what he has to say comes out of his own first hand knowledge and his own experience.

Let me present to you Mr. Saul Alinsky, who was asked to speak on the subject, "Filling the Void of Indigenous Slum Leadership."

MR. ALINSKY: I am not going to speak to my paper. I am not going to discuss it, because I assume that you all will read it.

What I would like to do is to make three or four major points—at least they are major from where we stand, with reference to where you start.

I am not going to go over all this business of jobs and everything you have been reading about—all of those things that have been well known for years. But rather, with your own mental outlook, as far as beginning to make that first step towards coming to grips with the problem, really being able to understand, really being able to communicate. And while we don't have the answers, what is extremely important is that we really pose the right questions.

I certainly am not going to have the audacity of starting to throw out a whole series of specific recommendations what you do in your local situation, because your local situations vary. And one must have a pretty good detailed understanding of what those local circumstances are before you can begin to make sense of that.

Let me suggest the irrationalities that are here, with all of us, and why we have to be able to break through to begin to understand—to first confront ourselves—and then be able, as a consequence, to make these other confrontations.

Let me just, in passing—but it is pertinent to what I am about to say—give you my first two reactions to the Kerner report.

First, it was a clear example of what happens when a person no longer has a politically vested interest, and is not going to run again for Governor, that he can let go with this kind of report. There was certainly nothing in his state administration—my own state—to indicate any real sensitivity along those lines.

And second, what I am going to be talking to you about is rationale. It becomes so much of a factor that we can begin to believe the rationale rather than our real motivation. So many Americans, I would say most Americans, read with horror, absolute horror, that, unless there was a massive action taken immediately, and so forth, America stood on the threshold of possibly developing an apartheid society.

This is very significant, because I wonder what the Commission thought actually we had since the beginning of this country. We have always had an apartheid society here. The only difference between us and South Africa is that we have always had a political and moral rationale in terms of equality, in terms of the dignity of the individual, etc.—why, in fact, we have always practiced apartheid.

What in the world was segregation, if it wasn't just that? How can anyone think otherwise, when you look around and see black communities and white communities, etc.?

But this is the danger of rationale, in that you can't see through to the problem.

Let me begin by saying to you that all human beings—this has nothing to do with race—have a rationale for what they are doing, or what they are not doing. You have to have. Sometimes, it reaches the extreme primitive form, such as—it is good for illustrative purposes—for example, among the Canadian Indians. We spent a lot of time up in Canada the last month. The Canadian Indians had asked me to come in for guidance, counseling,—to do something about their problem.

Their problem is exactly the same as the American Indians—a little worse actually, if you can possibly conceive that.

What they wanted was the Canadian National Indian Act changed with all of its discriminatory patterns.

My position was that they have to organize, because organization is what people have always done; from the time the world was begun, in order to have power, or the ability to act, as I pointed out in my paper, to begin to make the changes.

The moment I raised that question, I knew very well that implicit within it was really a second question: How come you Indians need me to tell you about this? How come you haven't organized before?

The rationale started coming up at once. They did not want to organize. There must be another way to do it, because organizing was the white man's way of doing it.

That is utterly fallacious. All people of all colors, who have ever done anything in history, have organized.

I let that ride. If they started to use the white man's tactics, they would create their own values.

I said, "What?"

"Creative fishing."

I said, "I thought I heard you say creative fishing."

They said, "Yes, we did."

I said, "I don't know what you are talking about. When you fish, you just fish; isn't that correct?"

"That is correct." And they went on, "When we fish, we fish creatively."

I asked, "Like what?"

"When we fish, we get attuned to nature and we do it creatively."

And it kept on going that way, and I finally broke in, and I said, "That's just a rationale. That's a lot of stuff. What are these great values you would lose?"

And they went on through these things—and one after another, it was broken down, and at that point they then wanted to face up to the problem as to why they had not organized and why this was what they had to do.

But this is the same problem we find whenever we go into a community. The first job that has to be done in an organization is to break down the rationale which has been developed to justify why they haven't done anything.

It is the same problem we have with corporations—when we want them to change policy. Their first defense is their rationale—why they should not change policy.

Well, this may be, but this becomes the major issue. This, in fact, is nothing new. There isn't a psychiatrist in the country that won't tell you that his first job in psychotherapy is to break through what he calls the patient's defenses, his rationalizations, before he can begin to get the patient to face his problem—and on a mass basis, precisely the same thing pertains.

And this is a problem that all corporations, all businessmen, all labor leaders of any kind, have, and this is the first issue which I hope will come up in discussion, which has to be done with your separate centers of society. It must be done with all centers of society. It is necessary to face up to and crack through the rationalizations which you have to justify what you are doing, or what you haven't done. Or to just discuss why you won't do certain things or to justify what we have seen tragically happen in one community which had every potential for setting a national pattern, of dialogue to the death—so that the situation is almost at the point of hopelessness, as far as what was an extraordinarily promising opportunity was concerned.

This is one thing you will have to keep in mind.

A second thing that is related to this is the fact that all of us, since the beginning of this nation, have been very schizophrenic in terms of our subscription to the democratic philosophy. Verbally, we have always espoused the equality of mankind; privately, we have always had a dual attitude. And this definitely affects our thinking and our position on any action.

This is first evident in the FEDERALIST PAPERS—and first attained prominence and was admirably stated in terms of facility by Alexander Hamilton, when he was taking the position in terms of equal votes, "Do you expect us to give people who are illiterate (remember that most of the people in the Colonies were illiterate at the time of the revolution) and propertyless (remember this was an agricultural society, you can say "poor" today)—to give them an equal vote to people like ourselves, who are educated, responsible, concerned with our property values?"

That is the same position as the Mayor of my city took in a statement that in a slavish way paraphrased Alexander Hamilton, during the poverty days, calling for maximum feasible participation of the poor, which has been amended by the Green amendment, which now reads "maximum participation by City Hall"—which, in fact, it was all the time.

Mayor Daley then said, "Why should we have the poor on these committees? What do they know? If they knew anything, they wouldn't be poor."

Basically, that is the same position.

Hamilton relinquished that position, being a politician—and realizing—knowing very well that the alternative to that way of life was a way of life of the aristocracy.

But I suggest that this is a real hang-up inside not only you, but all people, and particularly whites versus blacks.

Let me give you a specific case. When you go into a black community and you start asking around—I am taking this as a particular illustration, because participation of parents and local community groups in school administration is a very hot issue right now in many cities—you go into those communities and you ask people, "What's wrong with your schools?" They will say, "Segregated."

"Yes, but what else is wrong. I know that."

"They stink."

"Anything else?"

"The teachers are no good."

"Well, what do you mean?"

"They are just no good."

"Well, what else is wrong?"

"A lot of things wrong."

"What do you do about it?"

Well, at this point, you run into the beginnings of one or another of two reactions. Either the other party suddenly remembers he has to be some other place or else there will be an emotional reaction of anger, "Look, Whitey, you started all this. You go ahead and fix this up," and walk away.

So, you can stand there with the reaction, saying, "What do they really know about the schools?"

Suppose they did have committees that had charge of policies and other things. What contributions could they possibly make?

But you never ask yourself—Why was there any reason—why they should learn anything about their schools?

People don't learn except if there is a reason for it. You don't learn your business, except if there is a reason for learning—whether it is to make money, or this or that. You don't—even when you go to college. You see the ads on the TV all the time. A high school graduate makes so much money, a college graduate makes so much. There is a reason for doing it.

Why should you be concerned or become informed about your school condition, if there is nothing you can do about it?

I don't know anything about the oil business in Pakistan or anything. I have no interest in it—unless there is a reason for me to have an interest in it. But those same people—once organized—do have the power to make changes, and now have it within their grasp to make changes in their schools. The very same people I have been talking to you about, will then indulge in this kind of discussion—"We want to change our schools. That means we want good teachers." And, for the first time, the question comes up, "What is a good teacher? What is a bad teacher? How do you get rid of a bad teacher?" And that is a really tough question, actually. It really is.

And you will find, finally, they make the statement, "Then maybe we will have to get some of the educators around and listen to them—not that we have to buy their whole bit, but they may have an idea or so."

They are asking the right questions, in terms of the competency of people to be able to manage their own affairs, in terms of the basic American political ideals.

Believe me, you get reassured on it. You know—it is there, if given the chance. But you see, most of you have not witnessed this. As a consequence, you will talk verbally about freedom and equality, your belief in it, but in actual fact, you believe in it as much as you believe in Christian morality.

I am jumping because my time is running out. The one reference back to the paper is that the prime mission of a democracy, obviously non-violent, a participatory society, means that you have to have the legitimate, *bona fide*, actual representatives of various sectors of society. Without this, they can't be meeting together in a pushing and hauling and dealing and compromising—a continuous process along this line. That's what makes the democratic process. And this is the big gap across the cities, trying to find those legitimate representatives.

This is an essential of organization because, lacking organization, you cannot get representation. You have to accept those who come at it and just say, "I am a leader," and accept them on that basis.

This is the question we will have to address ourselves to—once you have made this confrontation with

yourself, once you have decided to move in various specific directions in your various communities.

Let me close by cautioning you on one thing: Don't kick it to death with meetings and with dialogue. The one thing which is imperative at times of massive and rapid change—which are these times, not only here, but worldwide—is action. Life is action. And if you continue the kinds of dialogues, for example, that went on in Rochester, which a year ago had one of the most beautiful opportunities to show to the world what a corporation with legitimate representation from the black community could do, has partly fizzled out in dialogue—which is just another way of what you do in business when you say, refer it to committee. That is the end of it.

Whatever you do, when you start moving, you have to move. Far better for you to make mistakes, even costly mistakes—they are not too costly with the present tax structures, and you know what I am talking about—than to just sit there and talk. The greatest difficulty so far is dialogue.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you.

Our next speaker brings us a unique and encouraging experience.

He is going to tell us how he and a few close friends of his — black Americans all of them—have rolled up their sleeves, taken the initiative, put forth the effort, and have provided needed leadership through ghetto self-help, something which business and government should both encourage and promote.

Let me present Mr. Alvin Bush, who will speak on the subject, "Leadership through Ghetto Self-Help."

MR. BUSH: Ladies and Gentlemen: I am here today in Washington to talk about, I guess, the same thing that everybody is talking about over the world—What is the problem of communities? What can be done? How can you solve those problems?

We have a lot of willing minds, and I heard one of the panelists this morning, Dr. Clark, say that it is almost talked to death.

I just heard Alinsky talk about action.

So I am one who believes in action. I myself am a poor man raised up in the ghetto. When I left the City of New Orleans, I arrived in Detroit in the ghetto. I worked as a servant and continued to live in the ghetto. But I had a lot of friends. A lot of people want to give credit to a lot of those people who help, because they don't know how.

I will give you an example. Back in 1956 in the City of Detroit we had a Wayne County Councilman who had writs to put poor families out of their homes for nonpayment of rent. They also had that same writ to go into houses to take out gas meters, when they didn't pay the bill for the gas.

When the people wouldn't let them in, they got a writ from the court, and went in and took the meter.

Being poor myself and looking at all these conditions—this was back in 1957—we incorporated this organization, People's Community Civic League.

We felt then that we had faults all over the world, and many of us had faults within ourselves, and we must learn to do some of the things that are necessary for ourselves.

We know that everybody else could help us, and we know other people who are willing to help us—but we must show that we are willing to do something for ourselves.

We began by having shore-type dinners, fish fries, cake walks—and you name it—to raise money to pay for the light bills and gas bills of the poor in those communities. And it got so good that we made a good investigation of the poor to be sure that they didn't abuse what we were trying to do for them—so we involved them in what we were trying to do. Lots of times we had a contest wherein the kids who sold newspapers were sent to summer camps. If they had bad marks, we sent them to summer school.

All this was by self-help. I begin to use here the word "self-help" and we have been doing it since 1956.

Then, as you grow and begin to get very powerful, as political powers—which in our community, the City of Detroit, is Labor, you become the savior of all the black problems. That I never could buy.

So they begin to create trouble and problems with the organization. I took sick and, as a disabled veteran, went to the veteran's hospital, and Labor overthrew my organization.

When I came out, I was no longer president of the People's Community Civic League. I was out.

I just want to lead up to something. I think that America should know leadership is something that you must work for. Leadership is not some one that somebody should pick for you. I think that all of the expressions of what everybody had in mind about this, that or the other, is not the answer to the problem of America. All America should roll up its sleeves, go to work and say, "Whatever has been done for a hundred years, forget about it. Let's start now and start moving. And that includes me—white Americans and black Americans, and everybody else—join in an effort to overcome this particular problem."

I want to say this, then, to get back to the organization. There had been about \$4000 in the treasury. When I came out of the veteran's hospital, they didn't want me as president. They had a new group. When I came out, they had \$2.58 left in the treasury.

Now, you have no organization, you have no people, and you still have the problem of the communities. This was in the year 1962. I felt then the State of Michigan had a lot of opportunity and willingness to help anybody who wanted to help themselves. So I let it drag for two years.

So I picked a lady by the name of Mrs. Irma Kraft. She is a good friend of mine. Her husband and I were

in the army together. Mrs. Kraft and I decided that everybody is marching and demonstrating. We wanted to start producing, with willing hands and good citizenship in the community.

We went to one of the millionaires, one named Charles E. Helin of the Helin Tackle Company. I told Mr. Helin the problem. I wanted to put this building up. This was November 1964.

It was only a short period of time before Mr. Helin donated me two buildings on the corner of Beldrome and Pulvert. This was before any riot or any other disturbance, such as you may have in America today.

There was need for money to renovate the buildings. So we said, "This is where our future site of training programs would be for the people of the community."

And we would hold meetings in the back yards and lawns of the property owners, wherever we could, to raise the money. And we kept moving around.

And one day Mr. Henry Ford II was not in his office and his attorney was there. I sold him on my proposition and one morning, just before Christmas of 1965, I received a check for \$5000 from him personally, not his corporation.

Of course, we could have taken that money, like most times people will do, could have spent this money on everything we intended to do. We accepted it immediately and everybody wanted to buy mimeograph machines, pencils and pens.

I said, along with Mrs. Kraft, that we would take the \$5000 to buy a better building to put the training in. We went to a local union. We had a building at 5916 14th Street. We walked into that building. We looked at it. It needed a lot of repair work, but it was better than the building Mr. Helin gave us. So we had to do something fast, in order to get a program rolling.

So we put the \$5000 down. The man wanted \$25,000 for the building and \$40,000 for the land contract. We agreed to give him \$25,000 for this in one year, but payment at different stages.

The first payment was the \$5000, and two months afterward \$5000 until you paid it out. Five days before the payment, the second payment was due, we didn't have but \$61 in the treasury. I stood up before the little membership in the organization, and I said to them—these are all people working in hotels, working in factories, service stations—"Now, look, you believe in self-government. You believe in doing for yourself. If you believe in this, then you are going to invest in it and you are going to prove that we are going to be right."

Two nights after that they walked in with over \$7000 of that money. They had borrowed on their accounts, from their loan companies, credit unions, and finance companies, in order to make the second installment, because we would also have to have money for insurance and taxes.

They had demonstrated to me that this was what they were willing to do. We will pay them back some

day. This was a promise. But this money was needed to pay the second installment.

Then the idea got around that we had a call from Washington, a letter from Washington. The politicians of the City of Detroit decided that now it is time that you need a proposal. Well, we can get you \$2 million from Washington to run this program.

Well, by that time I had a lot of ministers. I see some ministers in here, and I am sorry I have to talk about them. I had 29 ministers of all faiths sitting around the table with a bunch of other people—small businessmen—saying how to run this program. You find all kinds of ways to spend that \$2 million.

That was the sharpest meeting you ever saw in your life that night until I said one thing, "Gentlemen, the beginning of the program was a self-help venture. We are going to continue to do it. If we have to do it by nickels and dimes all the way down the line."

And from that time on we found only one minister left in our committee.

It is something to prove that sometimes money controls the minds of people against doing right. It is the dedication of the people that we are looking forward to. There is no use giving me \$10 million, and all I am looking for is a job. It won't do the job in that respect. I want to point that out to you.

I know the job is not so big that you can't meet this or that and the other. I will just say this, men like Mr. Roche, Mr. Ford, and others, sitting on that council—and Mr. Townsend—not that they don't understand the problem, they are willing to help. We felt that the business community privately can far better do this job than anybody in the country.

I am saying—better than government—and they do it all out of tax dollars—because there is a difference in doing a job you want to do with a feeling, than doing a job which somebody else says should be done from a piece of paper.

I will guarantee you one thing. If you put your heart into it and go into these areas and change the image—because the manhood of the home has been lost, the leadership of the home has been lost, it has been lost because the well-fed cats have taken possession of man's house.

I can't go along with housing projects, because you give them money. If they would only walk out on their own and struggle. As long as you have a little shade you can call your own, it is better than living in somebody else's home.

To be poor, you have to be down there with them. I like our program because we have 100-per-cent placement in employment. I mean high employment, not sweepers and moppers.

General Electric says, "We want X number of apprenticeships in our training program." General Motors had them. Ford said the same thing, and Chrysler, and they had them.

We have young men training for branch managers for savings and loans, inside of banks—only because

26 wonderful men in America sit on our board with us and help us to guide this program.

I want you to understand this. And they are whiteys. But they are men that, like you out here, are trying to find the answers to this problem, and they are willing to work with dedication, not willing to work with just saying there will be a riot. There doesn't have to be a riot in this country. We are going to prove it in Michigan. There won't be one in the City of Detroit, because the only way you can avoid a riot is by first working with the people. Instead of working with handouts, actually roll up your sleeves and go to work.

I work every day. I want to say this to you. We are not going to stand back and continue having people jammed up on welfare, jammed up in the ghettos, without first being missionary workers ourselves. There is no use sitting here in Washington, coming here and telling you about Detroit's problems.

I will say within the next couple of weeks, we have been working in Detroit as a network. People are people. When we unfold this massive program there, you can rest assured that it already has been planted, the seeds have been planted in their level.

I will bet you something. This program is right. There is no government money. We don't want any federal dollars. So you can tell the federal government, "We won't buy your proposal."

Our proposal is to put the people, to make them more responsive and more responsible in developing their own leadership in their own community, with the kind of guidance and technical know-how from business and industry. I would like to say this. I would look like a fool if I turned around and you turned over \$5 billion to me, and I should run a program. I have some sense, but I know I can't run a \$5 billion program, because my government would be throwing down \$5 billion in Detroit right now.

I want to tell you this. I am one of the greatest rabble rousers in the business. When I am with you, I am with you, and when I am against you, I am against you. I had my Ph.D. in the streets many years ago. I had my beginning at the age of 7. When I was 11, I got my B.A. When I was 17 I got my M.A. And when I was 21 years old, I got my Ph.D. That is what you call from the street of life, from shooting crap, black jack, whatever you want to call it, because you have me there.

I won't let you keep me there, because I do know that I don't have to be there. America offers too much. I think that once we start moving in the right direction as a nation, as a people, there is no problem here in our society.

Somebody said, "You can't do it this way." Somebody else says, "You can't do it that way." That is where the problem is. We are going to have to take a position and take a positive action, draw up the conclusions, the direction we are going to travel, and tell

everybody to get on board, and I think we will run that ship.

I want to thank you.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you very much, Mr. Bush.

And now, if the Interviewing Panel will please return to the stage.

We are making, as you will note, one change in the panel. We are adding a new member. Let me present to you, Mr. Arthur Lumsden of Hartford, Connecticut.

And, at this time, I will turn the program back to our moderator, Mr. Leon Lewis.

MR. LEWIS: Thank you, Mr. Booth.

I was very much impressed by the papers that we have heard today, and I hope you were, too. Maybe the communications gap has narrowed a little bit, and maybe we understand a little better what we have come to grips with here.

I think we have a pretty good cross-section of it. Mr. Chaneles' paper had a sociological analysis. Mr. Alinsky developed another aspect. And Mr. Bush said, finally, something that many of us feel from time to time—that we can do it, if we want to.

Now we will have questions from our panel. Let's hear from Mr. Patterson.

MR. PATTERSON: I would like to direct this question to Mr. Alinsky. I judge from listening and observing your work, that you have an understanding of power and believe in it. Certainly, I think this audience does, too. I think that the American economy was built on competitive enterprise and the use of power, and labor unions came into being to counter that power and develop a power of their own. And we shouldn't be surprised that Negroes are developing a sense of power to take what they want, if you will. But, Mr. Alinsky, in this particular period, when we are trying to hold this country together and keep the sharp edge of racial divisiveness down, how do you justify going into a city and rubbing raw the sores of discontent, fostering a revolution, by organizing those in the underclass of American society? What is your rationale for this?

MR. ALINSKY: Your question more is what is your rationale, because you should be the first, as a newspaperman, not to believe what you read in your own papers. You know that. The whole idea of rubbing raw the sores of discontent, which is what the press has so frequently tossed at me, will probably wind up on my tombstone. It is just a myth.

Do you think when I go into a black ghetto, say, at the mass invitation of the ghetto, that I come in and say, "Look, kiddies, I got news for you. You know that you are being segregated? You know you are being discriminated against? You know that you are living in

rat-infested tenements? You know that your schools are inferior to other schools?" And I could go on ticking them off: What kind of people do you think other people are?

What does happen is simply this—that when a people feel they can't do anything about a condition, then you get what I would call a state of mass resignation. It is not apathy. There is no such thing as apathy anywhere in the world. This is just an acceptance. What are you going to do—fight City Hall, or beat your brains out?

Maybe something will happen sometime, but there is nothing to do. So you don't do anything. But when you are able to communicate within their own areas of experience—which is the only way people can communicate with anybody—actually, that by organizing and by having power—the ability to act, which is one meaning of that—that they can do something about it, then suddenly, what was accepted as the inevitable thread of life becomes a problem.

Something isn't a problem unless you can do something about it. Suddenly, if there is something you can do about it, you stand up and start moving—so that to the city at large, which previously had had a nice state of peaceful co-existence, which is always very nice, as long as the other side is willing to be on the bottom and co-exist on your terms—suddenly, when the people organize and their organizers begin to demand a legitimate right, then the press, and what we roughly call the "Establishment," status quo, power structure, suddenly, they say, "Look what happened. Everything was nice in this town. You know, Alinsky came in and rubbed raw the sores of resentment. Look what is happening."

In that kind of a situation, let me point out there has not been violence. You get a community, just like an individual, hemmed up by frustration, defeat, despair, no hope, no future, no nothing, no way of becoming part of the human family—it finally blows its top. What happens is a striking out in a death agony, but when a community is organized—look at Woodlawn in Chicago, what happened before I went in there? The university, my alma mater, which wasn't claiming me as its alumnus at the time, was besides itself. They put to shame some of my previous protagonists in terms of personalizing what went on, and so forth.

This was the most horrible thing that could happen to them. After it happened, they are the first today to say—thank God for The Woodlawn Organization.

And now, as far as the violence—there hasn't been violence. As far as programs—there are all kinds of joint programs.

Whatever you do, don't you make the mistake which I always have to be on guard against. I have to be on guard not to believe the stuff that I read myself. Don't you make the mistake about the stuff that is written.

MR. PATTERSON: I am looking at a copy of THE REPORTER, dated March 21, 1968, in which this article says that you were retained as a consultant by the University of Syracuse, and helped set up the anti-poverty program. It goes on to say that the Negro poor of Syracuse wound up taking over the anti-poverty program group and denouncing it, so that OEO stopped their funds, and the city wound up split into two societies. And the Negroes of that city now denounce all attempts to start the new OEO program and are actively fostering discontent among the poor.

Didn't you get a bit of a backfire there?

MR. ALINSKY: I haven't seen that article yet. First of all, the city has always been divided—like every city, it was divided. There was black and white before anything came along, an OEO.

Secondly, let me suggest—I can dismiss the whole thing in terms of your own experience, as a newspaperman. I would like to point out to you that the person who wrote that never contacted me, never asked me, never interviewed me, and you know what kind of a reporting job that would be when he discusses me and what I have done.

Now, we never had a project in Syracuse. I never had any confidence in OEO. Sargent Shriver described me as the No. 1 enemy of OEO, when it began. The NEW YORK TIMES reporter, the only time Shriver lost his cool—quoting them—at the mention of my name.

I described OEO as a prize piece of political pornography.

What happened there was that some of the faculty were getting a grant from OEO to launch a project and they asked me if I would help them train and organize this. I took the position you could not do that with federal funds. They then came back and said they would contract with me, the contract for me would be directly with the University of Syracuse, and have nothing to do with the federal funds.

I still said I didn't believe I could train people when they were on a federal grant—the moment they would run into an issue with City Hall, the funds would be turned off.

Well, they had friends in Washington—you know that jazz—and when I then got there, I pointed out very quickly that we were up against something that was just impossible.

No. 1. In our own experience of training organizers, we have had a 70-per-cent washout at the end of 90 days, and every one that they had appointed as an organizer had a one-year fellowship, which meant that you couldn't scrub them. They were there for a year.

When you have a training group, let's say, if 50 or 70 per cent, at the end of 90 days, are disqualified—but they are still on the staff—you can imagine what this would mean in your own business. That made it impossible.

Also, without laboring it any further—because I was only there two days a month, and only for the ten months—and the press—again, all I have to do is look at a town, and suddenly, it is all me—but never was I on that project.

It is just like I have told you. I never had a single organizer, had nothing to do, to say about policy, or anything else.

MR. LEWIS: May I say again that cards are being distributed again for your questions. There will be an hour in which we will try to get in as many of your questions as we can. You might be lucky.

Mr. Alinsky is going to be forced to leave us early, and maybe, if you gentlemen on the panel on my left want to talk to him before he has to take off, this is the time to do it.

Mr. Lumsden.

MR. LUMSDEN: Mr. Alinsky, you have had a lot of experience in organizing the poor, maybe some successful, and some unsuccessful, in Mr. Patterson's judgment, but if we are to give these people part of the decision-making process—and I think we should—how would I go to Hartford and organize the poor, or would I just retain you to do it? And can you go to all the cities in America at the same time? Tell me how to organize the poor.

MR. ALINSKY: In the first place, you are not going to organize the poor, nobody in here is. You are going to have a kind of confrontation with yourself that I was talking about in my previous brief remarks here in terms of rationale—where there will be changes within all of you—so that you won't think in terms of these people.

MR. LUMSDEN: Tell me what you do and how you do it.

MR. ALINSKY: There is a mental attitude there which must be cleared up among all of you.

Now, as part of the actual organization work—it cannot be done, except by people who are experienced organizers in terms of tactics, in terms of commitment, in terms of integrity, in terms of intelligence, in terms of really knowing the business.

They also have a kind of philosophy in the truest democratic sense, where they do not think as local powers do. This is not a question of what things are done, but how they are done. They would not think, for example, of going into a community to go ahead and organize. They would—it would depend upon a situation that could very easily develop—where can they be invited in.

This is an essential first step—by the people themselves. Let me put it a little more succinctly. The community has no more business inviting anyone

to come into the black community to organize than the black community has to go in to organize whites.

I thought Chicago would teach a lot of people a lesson. If, out of Woodlawn we took 30 to 40 people of our black people, sent them to Lake Forest—which is our swanky suburban area—and, after getting past the butler, they pointed out that they had read about teenage drunkenness and illegitimacy of kids, high divorce rates, and all the problems that the rich had, and here they were to organize them on a self-help basis and program. How do you think the Lake Forest people will react?

There is no difference in the way any other community would react. We know we can't organize all the communities—to begin with, that isn't our function. We went into organizing only one black community, Woodlawn, to prove it can be done. That is the first one that has been organized on a mass basis, and after that we were disengaging and organizing low-income communities, low-income Mexican-American communities—which we have been doing.

Then pressures came from the ghettos themselves. That is the only reason we have been hung up for the last six or seven years—so much that we haven't interviewed a white applicant for a staff job during the last six or seven years.

We are going into a training institute to train people how to do this. There is a tremendous dearth of competent organizers. If you don't have competent people to do the job and know how to do it and know the circumstances—and only democratic circumstances—under which it can be done, it is just money down the drain.

I would like to take this one opportunity to make one other point. We have always taken the position that an organization must be self-financed from the minute we begin. We are constantly being told—Look, we don't care how poor you are, as long as you are dependent upon downtown white money, you have the collar on, and you have a leash on you, and the minute you start cutting an issue, which they don't like, they will turn it off, just as quickly as OEO—which is what happened in Rochester. When four settlement houses in the black ghetto voted to affiliate with FIGHT, the next Monday the Community Chest of Rochester announced that their budgets would be re-evaluated—which is a polite way of saying, "Get in line or else." So they voted to disaffiliate.

However, being a prime mover in terms of self-funding—and they do fund, as Mr. Bush pointed out—there are many ways the funds can be raised.

Let me point out, when you go for massive changes in terms of employment, in terms of housing—there is no sense in our kidding ourselves in a romanticized idea, that we can do it alone. We have to have funds, either from so-called private sectors, corporate funds, or from the government sector—with as few strings on them as possible. You can get it, if you are strong

enough. We know we are getting it in Woodlawn—from different departments, Labor, and so forth.

Let me say to you, however, that with my position against government support, government funding, so much so that I have been very embarrassed by the embrace of NAM on that one level, nevertheless, judging from the reactions of the so-called private sector, beyond their verbal statements, we are finding ourselves turning more and more to Washington, over our own feelings. Because more and more, we are saying, unless there is a reversal—and I certainly hope there is—we are saying the most militant dialogue out of the private sector, what they are trying to do constitutes just dribbles of action, and this country can't wait.

MR. LEWIS: Did you have a follow-up question, Mr. Lumsden?

MR. LUMSDEN: No.

MR. LEWIS: Dr. Clark.

DR. CLARK: I was interested in following Mr. Alinsky's frequent use of the analogue of psychiatry, particularly in terms of what you feel is the first step on the part of the white sector of our society. Continuing that analogue, what is your prognosis? To what extent do you believe that it is possible for those who control what happens in our society to be able to take this first step of clarification rather than continued dependence upon past rationale?

MR. ALINSKY: Ken, I happen to be in the very distinct minority. I have never felt so optimistic about the future of our country as I have this year.

Now, what has happened as a consequence of this violence, etc., is what was mentioned, I think, in the paper. There was a hidden affliction that nobody wanted to face up to. And you couldn't get it diagnosed as long as you never went to the doctor on the thing. Now it is out in the open. Who would have thought you could have a meeting of this Chamber of Commerce—maybe some people would have, I would never have thought so, two or three years ago. Now that it is out in the open and without other factors that are involved—the whole world situation, which keeps pressing in—we, obviously, this country cannot—it simply cannot go into, for example, a state of violence, as many fear, if for no other reason than that it would cost us. It would be a world political disaster. As far as we are concerned, the vast mass of the world population is non-white. If we permitted this kind of a situation to explode without any major concessions or rearrangements, we might just as well get out of the world arena.

The world cannot be handled with a policy of isolation any more. We are behind that. I feel there will be a good deal of self-confrontation. A lot of it is taking place now.

I have made sort of a negative comment on one aspect. On the other hand, there are a number of aspects I could speak very positively about, and I feel are hopeful now.

DR. CLARK: Given your hope, what is the basis or what will determine when the society will not—to use your words—kick to death with meetings and dialogues this issue as a way of postponing acting upon it? All you point to really has been meetings.

MR. ALINSKY: No, I think it is the standard thing in the world today. There are a number of criteria, as you know, that make up the world as it is. And one is that the right thing is always done for the wrong reasons, and the wrong reasons are all over the place. Business can't stand much more of what is happening here. Certainly, the insurance companies are very much up in the air about it. You don't think the insurance companies would have gone in for all this massive investment in low-cost housing, etc., for purely altruistic, humanitarian reasons, any more than any other group or nation operates on that basis?

The political situation, the economic pressures, all of these—just the same reason why the churches have gone to Christianity. With all the mass media, they could no longer proselyte all over the world on the basis of the great doctrine of Christianity without drawing a color line—not with the television and the jet and modern communications. And you know, before this, they could do this, and still be segregated back here at home. Those days are over with, and they are over with for every sector of society, including all these business groups out here.

They are going to start finding out what Coca-Cola found out in Atlanta. With their world market having non-whites coming to Atlanta, for them it was embarrassing for them to suddenly see white and colored bathrooms. And Atlanta became one of the most forward cities in the South, for the wrong reason. But that is the way life is. The wrong reasons are all over the place for us. So things look good.

MR. SMITH: I hate to make this a dialogue between Mr. Alinsky and the rest of us at this end of the table; however, I did have a question that I want to direct to him.

It was said that, with considerable reluctance, you had to look more and more to the federal government, because you got mostly talk and very little action from the private sector. Here this afternoon you have a chance to tell the private sector what kind of action you think ought to be undertaken by the private sector. You will never get a better chance than this group of people.

I would like to hear from you the steps that you think we in the private sector ought to be taking to try to alleviate this problem that concerns all of us, or we wouldn't be here today.

MR. ALINSKY: Remember the opening remark I made was that you have to work on a local basis. The local problems have to be discussed. But let me try out some general statements.

I think one is that it is a mistake for you in the private sector to encourage a lot of these romantic, little fantasies about just having black-owned property, like a grocery store, as I heard last week in New York—a lot of jazz. A guy from Watts really believed this. They are having a little chicken farm and sell some eggs.

These are the days of the corporate economy. These are no longer the days of—well, you know, free enterprise has been dead for at least two generations in this country and all over the world. When you get a little independent store in a ghetto, for example, the only way you can possibly stay alive in trying to compete with the supermarket, is (1) to extend credit, and (2) it stays open to all hours. It barely makes it. The other stores make it on the basis of terrifically high charges, concealed costs, installments, and so forth, and so on. Those places do not provide jobs. They may be an interesting thing for a little newspaper story. But suppose Sam gets a gas station—in the first place, it has to be part of a whole network. It has to be Standard or Shell, or part of a major gas operation.

People are saturated constantly on our television screens—and every place they turn to with the whole advertising medium, if you want gas, you get platform. You need this ingredient. You will not just go to Sam's gas station. You will not know what gas you are getting and, assuming he makes it, so what has it got? Eight or ten jobs. While you are talking about jobs, you are talking in terms of a corporate economy.

Not that these things are not good, not that revising all of our personnel procedures—which is one of the big things as far as getting the jobs and not recognizing the fact that there have been special considerations. For example, the corporation may have a certain test, an eligibility test. A white high-school graduate will approach that test vis a vis a black high-school graduate—that white high-school graduate has a very definite advantage. This is common knowledge, in terms of the quality of education, etc., etc.

Either the tests should be administered six months later after the black person is hired, or there should be a different kind of test because, as the tests stand right now, it is a discriminatory test. This just doesn't apply, incidentally, to the business sector.

The organization of President Johnson, that he addressed yesterday, has one of the worst records of segregation of any organization I know of in the United States. I am referring to the building trades unions. This created another very difficult problem. How can I say to kids, as I was saying to them back in Woodlawn six or seven years ago—to the dropouts, "Why don't you go to a trade school?" When these kids turned to me and said, "Suppose we go to a trade

school, and suppose we go and learn how to be a plumber or an electrician or tile setter, and so forth, what good will it do us, if we can't get into the union?

You are up against that. That is another battle-front.

What I am suggesting, however, is that there be the kind of development of industries within a community, with a black community, owned by the black community. If you have the organization such as you have in Rochester—take FIGHT, it is today engaged in negotiations that appear very promising, with an organization that has shown imagination, and the fact that it is alive in this century, to wit, Xerox.

In setting up a factory, FIGHT will go ahead and incorporate a separate corporation, be the owners of it. The funding, the job training—the government can cut in on a piece of that on the job-training program. But then the important issue is that it makes sure it goes. In order for it to go, it must be part of the corporate economy—which means it literally becomes a subcontractor for a major corporation with its products having a ready market right there.

And it is here you start getting clusters of jobs, and you start moving into the American economy.

I don't know whom I am talking to here. When I am talking to major corporations, there are certain approaches of the kinds I have just mentioned that I would urge. When I am talking to smaller businesses in smaller communities, made up of chambers of commerce as I have known them—they are druggists, real estate operators, etc—then you have a different approach.

They fall in all kinds of levels. The real estate dealers, the real estate agents, who belong to chambers of commerce—if they really carried out a campaign in terms of open housing, it could be the single most effective force for breaking through a lot of these segregated patterns, if they do so.

I mean really do so. Most of them have the same kind of resolutions of open occupancy that the building trades unions have for open membership, but it doesn't mean anything. I cannot deal beyond general terms. The only time we can become specific is in a specific situation.

MR. PATTERSON: I don't want to overwork you, but I want one more shot at you.

MR. ALINSKY: Keep shooting.

MR. PATTERSON: What is in it for this group of men in the audience to go out and organize trouble for themselves? Not many of us in business organize unions in our plants. I am trying to understand your rationale. And this is a serious question, because I happen to believe that the new pragmatism among the Negroes is offset by the pragmatism of the business community of this country—that if we ever got working together it

might turn out pretty well—and it strikes me that you are something of a prober and bridger here. I can see an edge of your rationale, and all of us who have been in the strike situation would really rather be dealing with a strong union than a weak one, because, when you sign a contract, it is signed.

When you look at it from the worker's side, you would rather sign with a strong union. From this point of view, I recognize that it would be in the best interest to organize the poor. I recognize that a business doesn't have a market if the market is burned up.

Why are you here suggesting to these people that organizing the Negro poor in their own cities is good business for them, as opposed to making trouble for themselves.

MR. ALINSKY: This may seem like a digression. I will take your question head-on—but I get so weary about this "making trouble". I think that the most subversive force and influence that has ever come to American society—it has put us into a state of crisis—is what I would call Madison Avenue public relations, middle-class moral hygiene—which has made controversy and conflict an ugly word, and which has made consensus, which includes the Administration, a desirable thing.

This is so contrary to the whole spirit and whole nature of a free democratic society, because it has made us allergic to the whole idea of controversy. Suddenly, we back up—"making trouble", as we put it.

It seems to me that conflict and controversy is the very essence of a free society. If you want consensus, if you want this kind of order, you go to a totalitarian society, where you have consensus. If you don't agree with the consensus, you go to the ovens.

If I were to project the whole American dream as a musical score, I believe dissonance would be its theme. Conflict is something that we should welcome. Every creative idea, everything creative and going ahead with life, comes out of a matrix of controversy. The moment you develop a new idea that promptly challenges the prevailing old idea, you have a hassle going.

I say this by way of putting a question, and this always comes up the same way. Why should they want trouble? Trouble becomes some negative thing, and it is so awful. It shouldn't be—not in our system. It shouldn't be something that you just back away from—and you say—because it is trouble, and so on.

Now, I think we are all in very deep trouble in our own society. That is the only way I can answer you, as to what is the reason why we should do it. I believe de Tocquville was right. I believe the fears that Jefferson and Jay and Madison had—that they didn't know where this democratic dream was going to take us. They did believe—they had complete faith that it would take us to an ever better life in this "pursuit of happiness", and that the only thing that could bring it down—and this was the point de Tocquville made 'way

back in 1835—was that, if you ever had a large sector of our population politically and economically disenfranchised, that would become malignant and bring the house down. That was the reason why de Tocquville in 1835 said that the hopes for the future of this new way of life depended on the next revolution, which he called the Negro revolution.

Now, one interest for them is a lot of these guys have made do. They have accounts. They have families. And one of the things that they are concerned about is having their children grow up, and their children's children, in this kind of a free way of life. And they are not going to have it unless we can enfranchise this large sector of our population. So, on a pure political, self-interest basis, it becomes imperative for them to do this, instead of futzin' around with goof pots, like the John Birch Society, and all this current jazz, to save a free way of life.

This is one thing.

The second thing is that the world has gotten so small and is constantly getting smaller, as mass media and as transportation and as our economy become more and more intertwined, that we no longer can live alone. We no longer can. And as a consequence, in order to live with the rest of the world, we have to have the kind of situation here at home, otherwise we are politically dead.

I never had a question that the '54 Supreme Court decision would have come, regardless of anything. It had to. Politically, we were faced all over the world with the vast bulk of the non-whites, with our propaganda vis a vis the communist propaganda points at us, our problem was, "Don't judge us by what happens down South. We have problems there. We will try to work it out. It will work out sometime. So, when we are talking about America, the land of freedom and equality, we are talking about the federal government. How could they carry out that line, as long as you had a Supreme Court holding separate but equal?

These world pressures are constantly upon us. These businessmen are finding that their market is dependent upon this world situation. Look at the way it cuts in on this Viet Nam thing.

We have to get our house in order for the first time. It is not that our house is out of order now. This is the hardest thing I have to get across to you. Our house has been out of order all these years. Now is the first time we have admitted that our house is out of order, and suddenly, we start saying, "Let's put it together."

It never was together before—unless you consider the fact that you had some millions of people that you were kicking the hell out of in the worst possible way and they weren't hitting back, that everything was fine.

Well, it wasn't.

All right?

MR. PATTERSON: All right.

MR. LUMSDEN: I would like to ask this question of Dr. Chaneles, and the other panelists. I have been hearing that the Negro has become disenchanted with government, local government. And I understand that they would like to keep the status quo. They are in power, the Democratic party in most of our cities, and the last great hope is private enterprise, and Mr. Alinsky says it is corporate enterprise, corporate paternalism.

In Hartford we built—the chamber and business there—you talk about the same thing, you talk about the corporations—we built the first integrated housing in the city eight years ago, had it up, and it is still there. We started a poverty program and financed it the year before President Johnson made a federal case out of it. We guaranteed in writing a job to any person willing and able to work, and said this thing.

Right now we have a housing fund in our chamber that is currently building 2000 units, in eight months. We are bussing Negro kids to the suburbs. We are doing every damn thing, every program we ever heard about being done and bragged about all over the country, plus about twenty more we have invented ourselves.

We have organized the poor, and as a result, we have more agencies which are financed to duplicate what another agency isn't doing, because they built themselves into a bureaucracy.

Now, in your paper, Dr. Chaneles, you say that Hartford will have a riot. What the hell—we are working our tails off. The Negroes agree the business community is doing these things. We may not be doing enough.

When I testified before the National Commission on Civil Disorders, they applauded when I listed the programs.

Now, why am I going to have a riot? Why don't you tick off the cities in your paper, so the rest of these people should understand my frustration?

I want them to join me in this trouble.

DR. CHANELES: That is pretty well stated, Mr. Lumsden. Again, you have a bag of tricks that is in that one question.

I am just going to try to take them apart and see if I can't get at them one at a time.

The tone that ran through your question, Mr. Lumsden, was, in effect, you are speaking to the Negro and saying to them, "Well, what do you want?" And no one authorized me to speak for the Negro, but I would say that the answer is from their standpoint, "What have you got?"

The listing of bussing to schools—you have got to look at what kind of schools you are talking about. Rochester tried bussing, and I think they regretted it. I have heard school superintendents in the last few months stand up and say to groups just like this, "If we had our way, we would get rid of 50 per cent or more

of our school teachers. Bussing isn't the answer to quality education."

It may be that quality education is more important than integrated education.

You have mentioned housing. There is some good housing in Hartford. It is one of the most exciting cities on the East Coast, but the best part of Hartford is a part where very few Negroes ever get to move around in.

You mentioned job opportunities, job programs in Hartford. The Negroes hold the lowest level jobs. They are marginal jobs. They offer no future. The jobs are intrinsically uninteresting.

The local government in one of the richest cities in the country has no real honest Negro voice speaking for the Negro community. There are a lot of stooge groups there. And there is a lot of pie-in-the-sky talking, but very little day-to-day answers to many of the problems in Hartford.

Now, getting back to the tone of the paper about what is happening in Hartford and in other cities where there have been expressions of very serious discontent, I think there are a number of things that go on in Hartford along the lines I mentioned. Look around and ask, "Who owns the houses of prostitution? What would be the reaction of the Negro community if they found out that the United States government was spending hundreds of millions of dollars a year in foreign aid in agriculture to countries at the eastern end of the Mediterranean to grow the opium poppy, which is then transported to clandestine laboratories at the western end of the Mediterranean for manufacture into heroin, which is then imported into Hartford, to kill the spirit and create a drag on the entire population through the use of heroin?"

There are guns moving into Hartford. It is one of the stopping-off places in a general distribution of small arms through upstate New York.

What have you got in answer to your question that was implicit, "What do you want?"

I would say that there is no single answer to the question about the urban poor, or the urban Negro. The right to organize implies the right to remain unorganized. The right to join implies the right to be left alone. It would be a mistake to proceed under one assumption that organization or joining or any other single program is going to provide the answer. You have to know the people in the community. You have to hear them. You have to listen to the things that they are capable of articulating, and the things that go unsaid, because they don't know how to say them—but they are very valuable clues to what is going on.

Let me just mention that one of the most searing tragedies in American life today is the fact that people who have the power of the purse strings have no hesitation in spending and seeing extravagant sums of money wasted, but when it comes to giving money to people to say, "We are big enough to take care of some money,

and do some useful thing with it," then the house comes down. They want to see programs, they want to see expressions in formal quasi-academic language, about goals and priorities, and objectives, and methodology, until it comes out of their ears.

There is a group in Hartford of ex-offenders who know damn well how to take care of other ex-offenders. I would say, "Give them some money. Let them take care of them."

MR. LEWIS: Do you think you got an answer, Mr. Lumsden?

MR. LUMSDEN: I haven't heard anything that anybody has suggested our corporations ought to do that we are not doing. Maybe it is too little and maybe it is too late. We have Negro officers in insurance companies—we have the whole bit. We are not talking about Negro opportunity, we are talking about preferential opportunity. If you are a Negro and walk into the personnel department, you get a job. If you are white, "We will interview you."

We have given money to the people. We have let them organize their own programs, and then they get into a power struggle—who is going to run the program?

I am very frustrated. I am going to keep doing more and adding more, and I am going to hope that Hartford will show the rest of the country how to solve this problem, but you haven't helped me.

I must tell you we solved all the social problems of the panel at the bar last night—but we forgot the solution, so I have to ask the questions again.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Alinsky, do you want a shot at Mr. Lumsden's question?

MR. ALINSKY: Well, what I would be doing here would be, more or less, paraphrasing from a different set of facts what Mr. Chaneles has been saying.

You are looking for what you can't find any place. And literally, on any major problem, every time we have had a crisis in this country, there has always been this request for a formula, a political or economic prescription. You can take this and do this, and, therefore, the patient will be cured, and this will happen. But in the politics of life—life just doesn't operate that way.

What we are trying to get across to you is that you have to get rid of the idea that you are going to be doing things for the blacks. This colonial mentality is something that is out. It is out all over the world.

Ironically, America, the least colonial country of all, has more of this mentality here at home. You have to accept the fact that you are going to work with people and work with them in terms of working out programs where they will be, in fact, equals. The fact that you have money is just one side of the coin.

You are thinking of a coin as being that of power, but the other side is people. Even in a political election, your money is only good for how many votes you can get with it. By that I mean, how much television time, how many campaign workers, how much advertising, and so forth. But all the time, it is only good in terms of how many votes it produces at the ballot box, and you do have a political power now.

You have seen it in the last election. And you have to get over this notion of, "We did this, and we did that."

All right, so, assuming that a black organized community does become a bureaucracy—as it will—when the have-nots become the haves, they are part of the haves. Color doesn't cut. So what?

But it is their bureaucracy, and therein lies the big difference.

I guess the only thing I can do is repeat again a story that some of you may have read. How many of you ever read the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LINCOLN STEFFENS, an old, old book?

Steffens tells a tale about how he became friendly with Judge Gary, head of United States Steel, at the time, and Gary was going to Europe, and he asked Steffens what Steffens was going to be doing while Gary was gone, and Steffens said, "I will be around New York."

And Gary said, "Why don't you use my apartment?"

And Steffens said, "Fine, I will."

And then, for some reason, Gary raised a question as to what Steffens would do in the apartment.

"For one thing, I will be in my own bed and I will have my own desk, and so on."

And Gary hit the roof. "What do you mean, you will bring in your own bed. I have the most expensive bed you can get in the United States. I have the finest desk," and so forth.

And Steffens looked at him and said, "Judge, you didn't seem to understand. My bed is just a two-bit operation, but it is my bed."

And this is the big lesson—that big change, actually one of the biggest revolutionary changes is what you have to face—and that is in terms of the way you approach the whole thing. This Lady Bountiful business, giving to charity, and Community Chest and endowing settlement houses, and all of that stuff, and having this feeling—those days are gone, and what Mr. Chaneles says is absolutely right.

When you start talking to somebody about goals and priorities and chart of organization and all those other things—those are the things that are within your experience, but they are not within the experience of the other side.

And that is where you have to deal with it, because this is the way life is.

MR. LEWIS: Gentlemen, I think that you as businessmen might approach a new market in the same manner that this problem might be approached. You bring in the

experts, you study your market, you have to get competitive, you have to develop a campaign, you have to arrange, and the only thing you have to start with is the fact that it is your knowledge that you have a potential market. You develop it, and you sell it.

Here you have a potential market for both skilled labor and an outlet for your product, and you sort of have to approach it in that way. You study it and play it all by ear. It is something you have done very well, looking at the GNP. So maybe you can see it from that point of view and if you do, you would see it as a problem that is not beyond your capabilities.

I think I have another question here, which came from the floor, which I would like to tie to this as long as we are here. Someone wants to know what Mr. Bush's answer to Mr. Lumsden's question would be. Do you think you have an answer to that?

DR. CLARK: I would first like to express sympathy for Mr. Lumsden's frustration. It seems like that is one of the things that is being spread all over, frustration. The answer would be that we look for models. The Urban Disturbance Commission raised the same question in a different version, which was asked of me, and I would like to try on you, Mr. Lumsden, the answer I gave to them. They started out by saying how this society meets crises. The issue really is not a new one. American society has met seemingly one crisis after another, certainly in my adulthood.

There was the crisis of Pearl Harbor, and after Pearl Harbor, there was the crisis of the cold war, and the need to develop a defense system that would assure the maximum amount of security that one could assure in this time.

Then there was the crisis of space and space exploration, and I left out a very important crisis that preceded World War II, the crisis of a crumbling economy. If we look at these models, each had in common with the others the factor of survival, which I think makes all of these critical situations appropriate to the present situation of our urban instabilities. And we look back and see what the society did when it was serious about each of these crises. We see one thing that it didn't do. It did not ad hoc, it did not gimmick. It didn't appoint public commissions for public dialogue as such. In each case, the society indicated its seriousness and its concern for survival by buying the best brains it could and making available to them the resources—the economic resources and all the other resources that would be needed to define these problems programmatically and to assure that, once the best definition and programs related to definition of these problems were arrived at, that they would be implemented.

We certainly did this in the depression. We did it in World War I. We did it in nuclear weaponry. We did it in space.

This is the only survival problem that we think we can solve by ad hocing, gimmicking programs and political verbalization.

May I suggest to you, Mr. Lumsden, that if you want to save yourself from really being inundated with a sense of frustration, that—and if this group, a tough-minded, tough-thinking business group, is really serious about this problem—I think one of the first things that they would do is to suggest rather seriously a moratorium on irrelevant discussions, and insist not that the government—because the government is already committed to a discussion level, on the commission level, of postponing—really come to grips with the problem and in terms of definition. It may be that business and industrial leaders, who are really sensitive to the fact that the urban problem is as much a survival problem for this nation as any of the others I have mentioned, would themselves establish a consortium for the specific purpose of addressing ourselves to this problem in the way in which we have addressed ourselves to similar problems. That you would buy the best brains available, provide them with a deadline in terms of years to come up with the most precise definition of the problem, not for the purposes of just more diagnosis, but for the purposes of action, arrangements which are in the interests of the society, the kinds of action which would take into account the fact that it has to be in the not too long-run, profitable.

It has to take into account the interests of the poor and middle-class whites and, above all, it has to find some way of dealing with these problems in ways that will free it from the dead hand of racism, that the basic survival problem has to be redefined away from race, because I personally am committed in one way, and one of the hypotheses I would offer to this "Urban Affairs Rand" would be that it would be impossible for America to really solve its urban stability and urban poverty problem as long as race dominates, that America never solves a problem when race is the salient factor of that problem.

One of the charges I would give to this group would be that it find a way of defining the problem, so that action independent of race is possible.

MR. LEWIS: We will hear a final question from Mr. Smith, who seems to be shaking his head.

MR. SMITH: I want to thank Dr. Clark. I think he has come up with a concrete suggestion, which is something I have been looking for all day.

MR. CLARK: I also have the possibility of a vehicle if he really is serious. We may have the beginnings of a vehicle.

MR. SMITH: But to throw one more question to Mr. Alinsky. As I said here a moment ago, I have been

searching all day long for some concrete positive action that we might take, we in the private sector. You have suggested one thing in this program, that Xerox has to establish a meaningful, sizable corporation, as I understand, to be owned by the poor and operated by them. This suggests to me that this must have to be subsidized by Xerox, or somebody, in some fashion, initially, to get started. Otherwise, it would have occurred almost automatically, if the funds were available by any other means. If we expand this kind of program and spread it all across the country, where a thousand corporations do this—what happens to our free economy? What happens to our competitive economy? If we are going to have 1000 subsidized companies, what happens to my business in Cleveland, Ohio, if somebody else is subsidizing another company to take business away from me? How do we handle this kind of question? Are we talking about a completely different economic system than what this country has grown up under?

MR. ALINSKY: Are you suggesting that the prices of automobiles are on a competitive basis between the different automobile producers?

MR. SMITH: I think it is pretty competitive. Certainly in my business it is competitive.

MR. ALINSKY: There are a great many economists in this country who would raise a different question in terms of controls of the market, and so forth. I don't think this economy has always been changing. I think it has changed beyond that which people still hold to a rationale of the past. This is what I was talking about before—rationale—that you really begin to believe it, instead of what the facts are. Just as when you talk about your private sector, it becomes very difficult, at times, to draw the line between what is private and what is public, when you consider the vast government contracts that go into the private sector, the vast numbers of your consumers who are on the public sector's pay rolls.

I have friends on the North Shore of Chicago in the suburbs, who are always complaining about government socialism coming into the picture, and the money going to the poor, and stuff like this. The pitch about this situation usually comes when driving down the expressway or freeway, which is 90 per cent or better federal funds. They don't complain about it that way, then.

Apparently, socialism is when the other guy gets it, not you. You certainly don't raise questions. I haven't heard about attacks on the vast amount of federal funds going into agricultural price supports, and so forth, as well as in the production part of it.

Now, what I am suggesting here is that we are in a drastically changing economy, and have been for some time. And if the issue is what do we do about specific crises and specific problems that now confront us—we

have never raised such questions, for example, when we had a crisis during an emergency situation like World War II. We had rent controls, price controls, all those things. Nobody got up and started saying—What is going to happen to the competitive system? And we have, now that this thing has kicked itself out from under the carpet, a situation that demands economic procedures which are different and which should be thought of in the same light as when we have shifted over into other economic levels in meeting other crises.

DR. CLARK: But, Saul, why do you think that we can ad hoc our way out of this?

MR. ALINSKY: Why do I think what?

MR. CLARK: Why do you think we can ad hoc our way out of this crisis?

Could it not be that we are approaching this problem this way because we continue to see it as essentially a racist problem rather than an urban-survival problem?

MR. ALINSKY: That is what I have been trying to say all this time, and what I tried to say in the paper. That is the reason we never confronted it. We don't want to confront it.

MR. CLARK: My point is that you, too—and I often, too—have often been a part of this game—What about this program and that program? What about this? When actually we have not sat down and looked at this problem comprehensively, and attempted to deal with this in terms of an integrated approach rather than gimmick.

MR. ALINSKY: I haven't found that. That is why I keep coming back to a local situation. I could have said, take a look at Woodlawn. This is what Woodlawn was six or seven years ago. This is what it is today in terms of jobs, urban renewal. It is the only community in the country that not only has control of planning its urban renewal. It is its own developer, which means, for the first time, as far as I know, it will be able to turn to the building trades unions and say, "We have these millions of dollars of federal funds, local funds, for our urban renewal program. We will not hire any of you people unless you break down the segregated practices of your union, in terms of job placement and various kinds of programs." You go into specifics.

Rochester, as it will develop, will develop on a different line. So will Buffalo. They all will be different. I don't know of an integrated general program you can have for the economy as a whole any more than they can have for their business. It isn't that simple. This is the problem that we are basically faced with, Kenneth, and really cut the issue down as of right here. And these kinds of questions we are

getting here ask for simple answers, and there are no simple answers.

MR. LEWIS: Ladies and gentlemen, we seem to have a little something going, and because it seems to me important, I would like to continue the discussion for just a moment.

Mr. Lumsden.

MR. LUMSDEN: I feel a little less frustrated, thanks to Dr. Clark. Alinsky says, "Organize the poor. They should be organized."

In my town they are, certainly, in my office every day, and we do work with them. We learned a year or two ago not to do it for them. And while we need really instant projects and instant goals, like the jet age needs instant money and instant coffee, we have been exploring this consortium of a systems approach with some of the chief executive officers of major companies, to take the total entity. And we would define the entity of the city of Hartford, plus what we would have to use to get the job done.

We have developed with Mr. Rouse, who developed Columbia, whether it is possible to rebuild a city, if you could build a new one a couple of miles outside. He said he thought it would be cheaper. I would like to see it explored by other communities, because we can't find the answers yet.

It must not be another glorified study project. I can put all the studies on social problems we have in our colliseum, if we never do anything else with it, but it has to be a prior commitment by private enterprise, and I think it will be cheaper for private enterprise to do it, to do the total entity, to do the total community physically, spiritually, culturally.

I like Dr. Clark's suggestion and ask the audience to go home and come up with some answers to use for me in my frustration.

I asked you to tick off the cities, Dr. Chaneles. Why don't you do that? I don't want to think Hartford is the only one that has a high probability of a riot. I have a lot of distinguished company here, and I want them to hear who they are.

DR. CHANELES: I will tick them off, and I would like to tick off a few other things on my mind and in my bag of tricks in the paper, the longer one that you will get. They are all ticked off, and the rationale for them is spelled out, along with a methodological statement.

Let me just say a few words about the relevant cities where I think we will have politically articulated riots this year. I am speaking of high probabilities. Last year I made some unqualified predictions, which tragically came to pass. But I think it is much more difficult to make a prediction here this year. What I did was to look at those 17 indicators, grouped into 5 clusters. And where there were 2 or more clusters, that had high prevalence in the 100 cities I looked at, it

was my reading of the situation that there was a high probability of a disturbance or incident.

Where I had, on the basis of research in the field, reason to believe that there was a political framework, I specified that these cities were ripe for riots.

I will tick off the cities. It would take much too long to indicate the spread of the clusters of indicators and the statement of high or low probability or no probability where I had no information, but here they are, and I am going to, as I said, introduce my own bag of tricks at the end.

San Francisco, Bridgeport, Hartford, Washington, D. C., Miami, Tampa, Chicago, Indianapolis, Kansas City, New Orleans, Springfield, Massachusetts, Detroit, Minneapolis, Newark, Albany, New York City, Rochester, Youngstown, Philadelphia, San Antonio, Milwaukee, Atlanta, Cincinnati.

The question that has been coming up all day is—What are the answers? What are the projects? What are the programs that private industry can undertake?

I will suggest a few. But I feel a little bit like in a situation of the soap manufacturer telling other soap manufacturers what his secrets are. I am in the business of finding out what programs are going to work. I don't think you ought to call in any outside experts to build or recommend programs to you, until you have assessed your own interests and commitment and capabilities to solve these problems with a view toward making a profit, or with a view toward doing good, or whatever your motivation is.

These things have to be done.

There is money to be made in the ghetto. A lot of people are raping the ghetto's treasury. You will hear from Seymour Wolfbein tomorrow about some of the potentialities there.

Back last fall, I recommended to a consortium of businessmen that it would seem to me perfectly appropriate for them to set up in their organization structure, an urban problems research and development unit to give some thought to how to solve problems in the ghetto and solve corporate needs at the same time.

I would add emphatically—Mr. Clark observed that it is important to put a specific and hard-nosed timetable on what they come up with—a timetable in coming up with plans and a timetable for completing or implementing them, with the cooperation of the community.

There are some things that have come to my attention—not a few, but hundreds of things, that look most promising. There are companies that are trying out low-cost building rehabilitation materials. They are making these available in the ghetto areas. There are companies that are developing new educational designs that would make the classrooms more exciting for Negro youngsters, who don't have adequate educational incentives in their homes. There are three types of things that private industry can do here. One is to strengthen some very good programs that are already in operation, but aren't working well at the local

level. You probably know much better than I do what the hang-ups are at the local level.

I think that these programs have got to be strengthened. Many busy businessmen spent many desultory hours sitting on community chests and hospital boards, and thinking about things there in the abstract, most philosophically, but not putting their know-how to work in behalf of local programs that are most deserving.

The second area of things you can do would have to entail some kind of ingenuity and soul-searching about equalizing the identity of the Negro from the standpoint of our own points of view and the points of view of the employees.

I have heard many stories told about the white cab driver who runs a little mail-order business at night and who studies week-ends, and everyone seems to think this is a perfectly ordinary thing to do. But if it is a Negro cab driver, with a mail-order business at night, studying week-ends, people look at him and say, "That is a smart Negro."

This kind of thing has to end. I think that is just in the same fashion that industry has put up safety signs to reduce industrial accidents. It can put up signs constantly reminding us that we have a long way to go in equalizing the identity of the Negro.

And finally, I think ways have to be found to provide concrete opportunities for everyone who is inclined to get involved in problems of the poor, white and Negro—to get involved. My wife, your wife—there are millions of people who do not participate in any kind of social action outside their own homes, but have repeatedly indicated they want to get involved. They want to do something useful—they don't want to be paid for it—and they keep asking how, what.

I think a major part of your responsibility is to define these avenues, and to spell out the methods for getting some involvement.

MR. LEWIS: Thank you, Mr. Chaneles.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we would like to turn to questions from the floor. Our panel on my left can interrupt.

Mr. Bush, a question for you. You said you wouldn't take any federal money. Wouldn't you take federal money on a training-contract basis?

MR. BUSH: That is the only way. I don't think anybody would deny the government, or any company would turn it down if the country called upon him. That would be the only way to take federal money—through a contract basis.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Alinsky, you said what is done is not as important as how it is done. Why?

MR. ALINSKY: If anybody has to ask that question, it isn't going to make any difference what I say. It seems to me to be—I am speechless.

MR. LEWIS: I have another one you will like, Mr. Alinsky. If you were the Mayor of a Southern city—

MR. ALINSKY: That is known as a really academic question.

Although, I don't know, I might have a better chance in Atlanta than I would have in Chicago.

MR. LEWIS: If you were the Mayor of a Southern city—other than attack racism—name four or five specific things you would do to help solve the poverty problem.

MR. ALINSKY: Help solve the what?

MR. LEWIS: Help solve the poverty problem.

MR. ALINSKY: Basically, we are talking about the same thing, except now in a spectrum that has no color in it, because the basic issue involved in poverty is not just an economic one. This was my big quarrel with OEO, when it began, and they were dimly aware of it, which was the reason why the major part of OEO in the beginning was a community action program, except they were living in the world as they would like it to be rather than the world as it is.

To assume that the mayor of my town was going to permit federal funds to be used in building an independent community action program that could turn around and challenge his authority, was for the birds. That goes for any other town.

Poverty is a matter of poverty of power—powerlessness—and, unfortunately, every word that is used when we are talking in the arena of human politics is a loaded word. When I say "power," it gives a reaction of takeover, of something negative, but when I say "power," I use it exactly as it is defined in Webster's Unabridged—the ability to act.

I say to you that a black person in the state of Mississippi, who is making \$15,000 a year—so that takes him out of the economic level of poverty right away—and as long as that person is discriminated against, as to which schools his kids can go to, he faces two sets of laws in the courts, two sets of law enforcement. He is denied, up until very recently, representation in his own government. He can be murdered with impunity by any white man, who has no more to fear than possible conviction, not for murder but for infringing upon the civil rights of the deceased, with a possible 10-year sentence. That black man is, in fact, poor.

I am saying to you that any Jew who had a million dollars under the Third Reich was poor. This is the problem we have, first to define it before we get off on how we are going to try to meet it. It is a problem of economic lock-out, and lock-out in terms of citizenship, with its rights. Money is only important in terms of what it will buy, and if you are denied these basic elementary things, you're poor.

So, it becomes an approach that involves the participation of people themselves and, through action groups, wherein they get the power that comes through organization; wherein they become part of the whole human family; where they are part of the decision-making; where the programs and policy in which they are involved are those that they participate in.

This is the kind of a program that has to be launched, whether it be in the field of race or whether it will be in the field of just the poor, whether white or Negro.

This was the major problem faced in Back of the Yards, which was an all-white organization. Until five or six years ago, all my work was in low-income, white communities. We were faced with those kinds of problems.

It wasn't a case of money. I would like to throw in another footnote that has to do with this. With all the positions and the positions all of us seem to have with reference to the federal government, government money—and no one has been a sharper critic of this than I have been—let's keep one thing in mind. We start getting so hung up with this, the government this and the government that, that we begin to lose sight of the fact that the government is not an enemy. This is not an alien government. This is our government, and in terms of our critical reservations, let us keep that in mind, because I have seen these conferences where at the end of an hour and a half, you think Washington was the enemy of the United States.

MR. LEWIS: Well, we are on friendly territory.

MR. ALINSKY: This wasn't a public relations statement.

MR. LEWIS: I have two more for Mr. Bush. First, the question was: How do we help spread your self-help program in all other cities? You said you would make an announcement in a couple of days.

MR. BUSH: Yes.

MR. LEWIS: The next question is: Do you ever get accused of being an Uncle Tom by Detroit Negroes?

MR. BUSH: I would like to know the definition of Uncle Tom.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Chaneles, to what extent are riots or violence likely to be looked on and used as an important and contemporary device to evade action on the basis of the problems of our cities now?

Did you understand the question?

DR. CHANELES: Yes, I understood the question. I think violence in the immediate sense is an eva-

sion. It is an evasion of rational thought. It is an evasion of some of the basic horse sense of this country for 180 years of cooperation. It is an evasion of hard thinking about how to solve hard problems.

Historically, it is a legitimate, although not legal, response to getting a breakthrough.

It may very well be that a few blistering riots will clear the atmosphere in the same way that the introductory section of the Kerner report helped to clear up a very muggy spiritual atmosphere in the Commission's indictment of certain racist trends in this society.

I don't think that they are right. I think that that finding was basically an unsubstantiated *non sequitur*, but it served a very useful purpose in clearing the atmosphere. I am not condoning, I do not encourage—I think violence in every form is ugly, but historically, necessitated as much by the restlessness in the Negro community, as much as it is by the bull-headedness and reactionary reserved quality of the people who run the purse strings of this country.

MR. LEWIS: Thank you, Mr. Chaneles.

We have a number of questions here, and I would like to kind of ask you if you would be briefer, if you can, in your answers.

This was addressed to the panel. What policy can I advocate to my company which would alleviate inequities for the black community?

There was one word I couldn't make out in the question.

Who would like to take that one, on either side?
No takers?

MR. ALINSKY: I will take any question. I think there are a number of levels that you can advise your company to work on. One is: Use your political power. You have political power. If you were a Chicago company, you should have turned to Mayor Daley months ago and said, "Look, after all those King demonstrations and stuff, we set up a big blue-ribbon commission, and that was supposed to do a lot of things. And all it has done is hire a couple of high-salaried people, and set up a professional staff and, as far as the black community is concerned, nothing has come out of it. You better get moving. Time is running short."

I think statements like that, coming from your company into city hall are meaningful and important. I think you should go into the black community yourself and start finding out facts yourself. There is nothing, you know, very special about somebody having a couple of courses in sociology that, all of a sudden you hire him as a consultant, to give you stuff. It is time you went out and saw some stuff yourself.

When you go out and see it, look at it in the same way that you look at a business proposition. You don't get carried away with a lot of this—you know you are in a funny deal when you are approached by people that

ask you for the stuff for the Community Chest, and so forth. You don't say, "Prove it. Let me see your balance sheet,"—the stuff you do if you were looking at a business deal.

This is very top priority business for you. Find out the facts. Look at it, but have a flexible mind. Know that the ways of the past don't work. Otherwise you wouldn't be on the hump right now, you wouldn't be checking it out.

Look over your own company. See what is wrong with it as far as your personnel policy is concerned. Talk to your friends, start organizing your own group of businessmen, starting on your own programs.

But be sure—and I come back to this—be sure that those programs are not just your programs. They are programs where you sit down with blacks, that you have reason to believe are very representative, and then ask the community to go ahead, to select and work on some kind of a way to set up some temporary representatives—which is what you will have to do when a committee is not organized—meet with them and work out programs.

Get moving and get action. There are all kinds of things for you to be doing. Let me tell you something. This may sound very strange. Once you really get moving into it, you are going to find that outside of all the reasons that we are talking about, the country is all hung up about it, your life will have a sense of adventure. It will be a helluva lot more fun for you than just playing 18 holes of golf, you know, and wondering what you are going to be doing here and there. Your life will start having a certain meaning.

There are times when you wake up in the morning—I don't want to give you a sermon—I am sure you must wake up in the morning, after you have been futzing around for 20 years in a corporation and you finally have reached a certain point, and you say, "What have I got out of this? Is this the way life will be from here on out?"

There is a very important life to be played as an active citizen, and I am not asking you to go into an ordeal of self-sacrifice and martyrdom and all that business, in doing good, because, if you have that idea in your head, that you will be doing good, you are right back in that old colonial mentality. You will be doing bad, no matter what your intentions are.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Chaneles, don't white juveniles get the same treatment as Negro juveniles?

DR. CHANELES: Indeed, they do not. You have only to go inside the courts and, in very short order, you will find out that many allegations against white juveniles are handled informally outside the court. And when white juveniles are brought before the court, the probabilities are very low that they will be kept for a very lengthy time in a detention facility, or sent beyond that to a reformatory or training school.

You have just got to go in and see it, and find out how the system works to the severe disadvantage of the Negro juveniles.

The reports—I won't tire you with that—show in every major city of the country that Negro juveniles spend as much as six to eight months in a detention facility, compared to an infinitely shorter period of time for white juveniles.

MR. LEWIS: As an organizer of minorities, Mr. Alinsky, do you feel that a void exists between sensitizing and the ability to do something constructive about the environment and what tools you believe minorities need to cope with their problems? I think what the gentleman means is: Do you feel that there is a void between a person's sensitivity to the environment and doing something and having the ability to do something about the job? Does he need to be sensitized, I would imagine, before he has the ability to do something constructive?

MR. ALINSKY: Organization is a way of doing something. Then he becomes sensitive to it and starts doing things.

MR. LEWIS: What tools—when you leave a community after you have organized it—what do you leave this group to work out their problems with?

MR. ALINSKY: What do we leave?

MR. LEWIS: What tools do you leave?

MR. ALINSKY: After we leave?

MR. LEWIS: Yes.

MR. ALINSKY: We leave them with a staff of their own people, who have been trained as organizers on the job. We leave them self-financed. Throughout the period of organization, they are constantly going through a learning process of how to raise their own funds and those funds are always banked.

When we left Woodlawn three years ago—at the time we left—there was about \$40,000 in their account, and they had three organizers trained who just moved over to their own payroll, trained by us.

We will be going out of Rochester in the next four months, but we are always available to return on request of FIGHT.

FIGHT now has \$23,000 in its treasury, and two organizers that will be able to carry on—that are trained by us. And what more can you leave?

MR. LEWIS: I have another question for you. It says: Your reply to Mr. Patterson was not completely true. In Chicago The Woodlawn Organization is attempting to

get the gangs' energies channeled into proper directions, but it has not eliminated violence, because atrocities are perpetrated by blacks against blacks. The media ignore it. There are at least two teen gang killings per week. And it says that rapes, robberies still go on. And the TWO employs many of the gang members. So do you still believe that Woodlawn is an excellent example?

MR. ALINSKY: Yes, I think Woodlawn is an excellent example. If that guy believes that story, you have somebody here who is taking LSD. That is not true.

I will lay him a grand on the table if he can find one killing every week or every three weeks, let alone two killings a week.

You have one guy wounded on a shotgun deal back about a month ago, and that would be it. There was a killing that took place back about two months before that, in a flurry between the Disciples and the Rangers. Those facts are just not so. If they want to know what those facts are, let them go the University of Chicago, and ask them. As far as violence goes, when the West Side blew up, the Chicago police didn't even bother to send an extra squad car down to Woodlawn. There was no violence in Woodlawn. There hasn't been any violence in Woodlawn. When you do get—the only thing that is true in that question, unfortunately—but this isn't just for Woodlawn, it is all over the country—the press doesn't report and isn't too interested in the black killing another black. We have these tremendous tensions going on between the gangs all over Chicago—Vice Lords, Cobras on the West Side, Rangers and Disciples on the South Side—but the Rangers and Disciples for the last three or four months have been involved in this major, on-the-job project, this \$1 million project, that government project which got so much publicity, and it was in that project that you got that shotgun wounding. This was the only incident.

And if the gentleman will step forward and start giving me his evidence, let's have it.

MR. LEWIS: Does the gentleman want to follow up that question?

(There was no response.)

MR. LEWIS: We will go on to the next one.

MR. LEWIS: This is for Dr. Chaneles and Dr. Clark, who isn't here. For the benefit of this workshop, what steps do you suggest the private sector use as a starting point? The gentleman says, "We have to carry a message home."

So, Mr. Chaneles, you are stuck with it.

DR. CHANELES: Immediately, I would say one of the most practical things—there are two practical things that could be done. One is that out there in the black

ghetto there is an awful lot of managerial talent, and when private industry with upgrading programs goes out there to see these unemployed, subemployed, or whatever they are called these days, then tell them, "Look, you get involved in the program, and you will get \$65 to \$80 a week, and if you behave yourself and learn well and work hard, in two or three years, you will get as much as \$125 a week."

These young fellows, without a high school education, but, as Mr. Bush indicated, they have a Ph.D. in urban affairs, they are in their early twenties, they are getting \$175 to \$200 a week as street people, they are hustling, and they are doing fairly well. I dare say they would make very good branch managers. They would make good middle executive types. Their know-how and their talents are there and can be very productively harnessed immediately.

The other suggestion is that you do more than simply ask the corporation counsel or the executive vice president or someone down the line to take on an additional responsibility as the community affairs man for the ghetto, that you get some talents into your company and begin giving very hard thinking to solve some of these problems.

MR. LUMSDEN: May I comment on this.

MR. LEWIS: Certainly, Mr. Lumsden.

MR. LUMSDEN: The chambers of commerce around the country, in dealing with these social problems, tell me the branch managers of companies haven't gotten the word, so that is one thing you can do. The chief executive officer seems to have it, but the branch manager hasn't got it.

There are a lot of things that I think you can do. It is—whatever you do well. If you do training well, set up a training center in the ghetto. Or you can set up a job development center or work adjustment center or you can even set up a small manufacturing facility in the ghetto, if you are a manufacturer. Do what you can do well. And know what you can do.

Aircraft is doing training. United Aircraft is setting the training and Hartford is putting in a little plan.

I will tell you what not to do. Don't create another agency. But what you can do is loan middle management to programs. They have such a lack of ability to organize and administer your poverty programs. You know people are in there mostly because they are black. They haven't had time, they haven't had enough experience to know how to do this.

If you do nothing more, you can loan middle management to poverty neighborhood groups to help them set up meetings, and show them how to run a meeting.

Very simple things—do what you can do, and do it yourself.

MR. LEWIS: I might add, ladies and gentlemen, that many of these questions about joblessness in the ghetto will be answered in the workshop tomorrow.

I would like to go to Mr. Bush now. This is a pertinent question. Mr. Bush, do you reach the really hard-core people in your training program? How do you find them and how do you involve them?

MR. BUSH: The question is: How do we reach them and how do we train them?

MR. LEWIS: The question is: How do you really reach the hard-core people? Do you reach them?

MR. BUSH: Yes, I am hard-core myself. I don't know what you mean by hard-core. I have been hearing that word all day. Hard-core is something that always bothers me a little bit, but as far as the boys are concerned—word of mouth between the people gets the job done more than anything I know of.

The boy himself must be taught how to help each other out of this same band box that somebody else escaped. This is the reason why we have a chain, we have a waiting list of people who are trying to get into the program and all of these people are poor. And when I say poor, I am not talking about hard-core. I don't know what you mean by hard-core—I am talking about those that have been on welfare, those that are unemployed and who need jobs.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Bush, I think that would describe what people are talking about when they say the hard core.

I have another question for you. To do this job of training in Detroit, do you expect to get sufficient funds wholly from the private sector?

MR. BUSH: I have all the confidence in the world in the private sector of the community because of the fact that they have not failed yet, and they will not fail this Detroit program. In fact, it would be one of the best in the next few weeks that you will see in the United States, including all your government programs.

MR. LEWIS: There is another one for you, Mr. Bush. Is your self-help program enthusiastically received, and does it accomplish the community goals or the announced goals?

MR. BUSH: Here is our purpose. It is self-help. We are strictly self-help. There is no other program in America that says it is self-help. I hear all these self-help programs, but nobody has proven beyond what we have in the city of Detroit.

To give you an example, we had two to three thousand square feet. In there is over \$300,000 of renovation. The building is paid for. And it was paid for by the poor.

When I say by the poor, I am talking about the people making \$25, \$30, \$35, \$40 a week. I am not talking about anybody making \$15,000 to \$20,000. The middle-class people help us, too. I won't say that the middle-class Negro doesn't help. I won't buy that.

The poor themselves—last October we owed a balance of \$6000 on the building. Within a few days, we put on a raffle, we raised every penny. We wouldn't let the businessmen pay one nickel—because we had to have a responsibility, a responsible role in the community. We feel it is necessary that we do it ourselves.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Bush, do you feel that your self-help program accomplishes the goals defined by our youth panel this morning?

MR. BUSH: I think that the youth panel that you had this morning was a great youth panel, and I think in the program that we will have in a couple of weeks, I believe Mr. Barry and Miss Richardson and Mr. Givings will be pleased to get it and work it in their communities. I think that would be something that they themselves will no longer have to worry about. It must involve the total community. You can't operate as a single unit. I won't buy that in a thousand years.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Chaneles, aren't we floundering because so many different ideas as to how the problem should be solved are offered? Since there are so many layers to the problem, shouldn't those of us who can provide summer employment and job training just do that and leave to others the counseling, the low-cost housing? Whenever a group meets to plan action, it ends up doing nothing. Is that a problem?

DR. CHANELES: That was a long question.

MR. LEWIS: Aren't we floundering because so many different ideas as to how the problem should be solved are presented? That is question No. 1.

Question No. 2 is: Since there are many layers to the problem, shouldn't those of us who can provide summer employment, job training programs, do so, and leave to others the counseling, the low-cost housing; and then the comment, wherever a group meets to plan action, it ends up doing nothing.

MR. BUSH: I agree with you. I agree with the questions. You do all this planning, you have all these different groups going in all different directions. You have 50,000 people trying to do different things, and nobody is putting anything together.

This is the reason why we felt in the City of Detroit, to answer that question directly, within a couple of weeks we have put this thing down on a map that we can do, and go in any given town like Mr. Barry and everybody here, to try to do a job, and put it in their

hands. But, you see, this is another question. This has to be done by people who have dedication first, not the money involved. Those who believe that those people need help in trying to move these things over. They are the ones who will have to run the programs, regardless of where they are in the United States.

MR. LEWIS: Mr. Chaneles, do you have a comment on that?

DR. CHANELES: Yes. The thinking in the last few years by private industry has obliged the federal government to accept and to formulate national policy in solving urban problems as long-range comprehensive planning.

Unhappily, a lot of that comprehensive planning has turned out to be a planner's nightmare, and there has been no action. What business didn't do is to show how to apply those comprehensive plans to a local area.

I don't think you can sort these out. You have to have long-range, concrete objectives. You have to have long-range strategies, and you have to have undertakings of those aspects you have to and do the best you can, with what capability you have—the immediate things—and leave out some of the frills and fringes. Leave that for other people, if there are other people doing them—and the only way you know whether there are other people doing it or have the capability of doing it, is to have some general sense of community-wide capability of responding to this problem.

MR. LEWIS: Thank you very much, Mr. Chaneles. Ladies and gentlemen, if you will permit me to exercise the moderator's prerogative of making some observations. It seems that business recognizes a large responsibility for constructive action in helping to solve this problem, the problem of joblessness among the hard-core and urban unemployed; however, we probably have to realize that business can't do this alone, and that business can't possibly guarantee jobs and permanent employment. Private enterprise needs a certain amount of freedom and flexibility. However, it has been pretty well demonstrated here today that the problem is one to which business must address itself, and business, because it has the know-how and because it, has the organization, can make a valid contribution to solving the problems that confront most of us. Business has a lot of responsibilities that it has to maintain—it has to maintain quality, it has to be competitive, and it also must make profits.

We all understand this. But we hope that you people who have gathered here today will be able to

take another step toward commitment—to face this problem, and to do what you can to bring about a reasonable solution.

The problem is crucial, not as we have defined it here today, but as it has been defined many times before by many bright people who understood it perhaps better than we do at this moment. It is a problem comparable to any other we have ever faced, and we faced our problems in the past when we knew we had to face them. We faced World War I, World War II, the Korean conflict. We faced the Vietnam war. We faced the depression. We faced a tremendous labor shortage during World War II. That's when Rosie the Riveter made her debut on the American scene. We trained these people who needed to do a job in a hurry. Business demonstrated it has the capacity and facilities to develop a skilled labor force in short order when it is needed.

So we face a crisis here and, as I said before, business must have a certain amount of flexibility, it must be as free as possible, it must make a profit. We all recognize that.

Many people see advantages in the ghetto for business to do exactly that. You will learn a lot more about it in the workshop tomorrow morning. Those of you who wonder what we can do—and that is a question that we hear many, many times. The consensus of what we have heard here today would seem to dictate that the first thing we must do is make a commitment. We must decide that this is a problem that must be solved, and then we sort of have to decide the extent of our commitment. But certainly, if the business community committed itself to solve this problem, it could give us unlimited leadership, know-how, capacity and organization, for the job that needs to be done. I don't think anyone would contest that.

I want to thank the gentlemen who summarized their papers. I think they did a splendid job in isolating the problem and sort of making it more intelligible to all of us.

I want to thank the panel on the left, the gentlemen who interrogated the writers of the papers, because I think that they helped clarify some of the things that may have been left in doubt as the gentlemen discussed their papers.

I want to thank you for the commitment that brought you here. I think that is terribly important. It is a step in the right direction. This is our country, yours and mine, too. The way we can demonstrate that is by facing the problem which threatens us all.

Thank you very much.

March 27, 1968

MR. BOOTH: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

The purpose of the workshop this morning is exactly the same as it was yesterday; that is, to learn more and to understand better the problems of the Negro ghettos and the Negro.

In recent weeks we have seen some items in the press, many of them, in fact, quoting top corporate officials, saying it is the social responsibility of business and industry to find constructive solutions to the problems of joblessness of the hard-core unemployed.

For instance, here is a quotation from a top business executive which caught my eye in a newspaper recently. The business executive said:

"The public looks to business as the primary source of jobs — and pay checks that make so many of the good things in our society possible. They have not assigned this task to government and might, indeed, look with great apprehension on any attempt to move this responsibility in that direction.

"This is part of our basic mandate from society, and this is how we earn, year by year, society's continued acceptance and approval."

Well, I think that is a good quote. I think it says it as it is. I think we ought to go on beyond that and say: It is also the economic responsibility of business and industry to find constructive solutions to the problem of hard-core unemployment. And there are sound economic reasons why business and industry should do so.

First of all, it is the business of business to develop potential markets.

This we have known since the days when we studied economics in school.

And these days, when employers need more customers, and need more productive workers — workers, not only as middle management or highly trained technicians, but also at the entry-job level — it is simply good business to tap this present reservoir of unused manpower that exists in our cities.

So, to discuss the manpower and consumer potentials of the urban poor, it is our privilege to have as our speaker a man who is a nationally recognized authority on this subject, and who, at the end of his presentation, will answer questions from the audience.

You have cards at your places, and, as you listen to our speaker, I hope you will jot down your thoughts, your concerns, your questions, and be prepared to ask your questions, and hand them to the young ladies who will be in the aisles.

I will present him to you — Dr. Seymour Wolfbein.

Dr. WOLFBEIN: Thank you, Mr. Booth.

I want to thank you, first, for inviting me and also putting me in this particular slot of the program. I think what I feel right now is a wave of empathy coming up at me, you will be glad to hear — and I figure it is

because of this lovely spot I have on the program, sandwiched in between breakfast and the movies.

As Mr. Booth indicated, the Chamber has asked me to see if I can come up with some kind of concrete answer to two questions.

First, when the chips are down, really down, that we can really follow the sustained course of economic growth, as we have for some time, and if we want to consummate some of our goals and some of our commitments in the field of civil rights, what would really happen if we had a breakthrough in terms of the hands and the skills and the talents that we need so much? — And are going to need so much in the immediate years ahead!

And the second question that the Chamber asked was again: Could you, with some specificity, with some concreteness, give us an idea of what would happen if we had this kind of beginning of a breakthrough in terms of the actual consumer expenditures, standard of living, and level of living among the urban poor?

And so I have been working on this for a couple of months, and the materials will be found in the kit that you are going to bring home with you. You will see a chart book and a paper on the subject.

So that my job really today, this morning, is to summarize some of the highlights, and then you can read all this at your leisure on the train, and the plane, and all the other ways you get back.

Here are the two major findings, very briefly, and I may want to refer to one or two of the charts that you have. I won't go through them all. This is the context for what we found.

First of all, there is a very basic assumption here that we ought to put right on the table. The paper starts off with, as a matter of fact, right in the first sentence, and it goes as follows:

Let us say, by 1975, which is only what — about seven years from now — in the next few years, next few years immediately ahead, what we are going to be faced up with in the United States is a very significant and substantial need, and maybe even shortages of manpower in the United States of America. And while it is perfectly true that we have had significant increases in productivity, and output per manhour, and the efficiency of our plant and our workers, everything that goes on in the United States today and everything we can see that is now in the offing in the immediate years ahead, points to a very substantial increase—if not shortages—in the demand for people—as I said before, the talent and the skills that all of us need. And one other point on that: It makes no difference what kind of employing institution you represent. In the universities, which I represent, I have just gone through my first academic year in the academic labor market, and my eyeballs are twirling, because of the significant shortages there.

And whether you are in a bank or in manufacturing enterprise or even, if I may say so, a government agency, especially in the state and local levels, significant shortages are currently present, and they are going to be exacerbated, they will increase in the immediate years ahead.

Now, if that is the case—and only some kind of disaster will change that—we have to know a few basic, I think basically important factors. These have been documented. There are no arguments about it, I think.

Item No. 1: In the next few years, 1 out of every 7 new youngsters—hear this well—of the new crop of workers coming up and hitting the job market, is going to be a Negro. If I may say so, I hope it is already obvious to you. I don't think we can consummate—to use that fancy word—the demands that we are going to have, unless we really move in on that pool of working hands and talents and skills, and put them to use.

The arithmetic of that has already been irrevocably written.

And just for a moment, take a look at Chart 2, and you will see the pitch there, without belaboring all the figures. Look at the increases scheduled between 1965 and 1975, in the age group under 24, which represents, you know, the biggest part of the increasing labor force of the United States of America. You take a look yourself at the very substantial increases in the group that is known in the trade as the non-white, which, of course, is mostly, 92, 93 per cent, Negro. Huge increases scheduled. We are experiencing them right now and in the years ahead.

And you can read that yourself. You don't need me to be at you. If you turn back to Chart 1, you get the next point, that we are moving into an arena and a span of years, which is almost a 1-2 punch, isn't it? Look at that chart. Right in the middle of all the increased population, work force, you name it, look at that little old minus in the middle of the chart. My friends, I hope you have heard this before. I hope this is just recalling it to your attention. Between now and 1975, there will be a one million decline in the number of workers in the age group, 35 to 44, the critical age group, where you and I really try to zero in on people, and get some folks who have had experience—when you are after a professor or a managerial person. We have news for you. There "ain't" going to be any.

One million fewer, and you have this 1-2 punch, as I said, because in the age group right below, is the huge increase in the labor force.

Just like an hour-glass, with a big batch of people in the younger age group and older age group, and a very narrow waist in between.

To get poetic about it—for one of the age groups, the sands are running out, and if you do your arithmetic, you will find that people, 35 to 44 in 1975, were born in the 1930s. And some of you are too young to remember it—maybe you read about it—in the 1930s

there was a depression. Not only was there a decline in economic activity, but also in the birth rates.

We are about to reap the events of the 1930s in terms of manpower.

One other point on that score: If you look at the things that people do in the job market—and again I hope it isn't news to you—you find something else which is very dramatic. It is easy for me to tell you. We are the only country in the world where the single biggest block of workers is the white-collar worker. Within the next month or so, you watch the score card. Something very dramatic is going to happen for the first time in history in the United States of America—it will happen in March or April—when the figures come out, we will find that there are more professional personnel in this country, than all the skilled workers in the United States of America put together. And this is in a country like the United States, which is a prime industrial nation.

Now, if you look at the future, you take a look at Chart 3, which I hope again is not news to you. Look what is going to happen between '65 and 1975. Where is the big decline in the categories of workers? In the marginal and unskilled. Where are the big increases? Among the professional and the other white-collar workers.

But, I think, nobody can go away from this conference without recording the fact that, while this is true for the United States of America as a whole, it is most certainly not true for a group of workers known as Negro workers.

And remember this well. As we try to deploy ourselves, how do we get the hands and the skills and the talents? Let me give you two figures. 1. If you look at the Negro male who works in this country, you will find that one out of every five — 20 per cent of them—are in just one occupation. It is called unskilled labor—the only occupational group outside the farmer in the United States which is scheduled to go down in job opportunities. If you look, for example, at the Negro people who work, it is absolutely fantastic. One out of every two—mind you, 50 per cent—work in one occupational group, known as service. And don't let the term fool you—the term "service" includes domestic service, laundresses, chambermaids, and all the rest.

Now, against that background, I try to respond in this paper to the question the Chamber put to me: What would happen if we had the beginnings of a breakthrough? Here we have one out of every seven new young workers coming up will be a Negro. Take a look at what they are doing. What if we began to change this? And I asked the question as follows, as you will see in the paper later on. I said, let's say that, as we move to 1975, all that will happen is that we will get closer to the following situation. The proportion of Negroes in the different

occupations will be no more and no less than their proportion in the work force as a whole.

What would happen if Negroes, for example, participated in the various occupational groups just like they do in the work force on the whole.

Mr. Booth was kind enough to introduce me and indicate what a fabulous authority I was in this area. I don't know whether I am, but I sure spent a lot of years in this. But I tell you this was even startling to me. And I thank the Chamber very much for asking me to do this. It was really an eye-opener. You can imagine what happens if you start playing around and saying, what if in the next seven years we really begin to move in this direction? What if we really go down the road not of setting quotas or trying to get Utopian about this, but just having the Negro work force deploy itself occupationally in the same proportion of the total? What happens?

You ought to take a hard look at the figures. I will not read them. What happens is really a tremendous labor supply. I promise this is the last time I will quote the words again—a cornucopia of hands, talents, skills available to us. And if we can really discover how we do this—how we elicit this kind of labor force; and you watch the movie which is next on the program and see about some of the things that are being done with the hard-core, to elicit their participation, both on the part of the employer and the hard-core themselves, and both are responsible. You find, for example, 600,000 more professionals, professional personnel, would be available to us, 450,000 more skilled craftsmen would be available to us. And again, this is not any great Utopian breakthrough, you understand. And some of the individual fields are fabulous—150,000 more engineers. And this one gets me—because we have a tremendous shortage in our own university—200,000 more secretaries, stenographers and typists. Fifty thousand more carpenters. And so on, and so forth.

So I ask you, when you get a chance—take a look at some of these figures, and see the kind of turn you begin to get in the kind of manpower that we need, and the answer to the first question is in one word: Yes, there is an enormous manpower potential—not only in terms of numbers, that might be the least important of it—the important thing is the distribution of hands that you get when you really start moving.

The second question put to me very briefly, was: What if you really begin to move down this road and take some action, what would happen to the spending, the standard of living, the level of living on a part of a substantial number of our population? And we are talking about the urban poor in general now, although I have been focusing on the Negro.

Now, on the income side, again I hope this information is no news to you, you know what has happened. There are about 30 million people in the United States of America who are officially labeled as living in poverty, according to all the fancy classifications of

Labor Department and HEW, 20 million of them white, 10 million of them not white. And when you take a look at this in a real hard way, you find, of course, very, very substantial differences all over the United States.

Now, in order to get some kind of handle on the subject—what would really happen, if we had a breakthrough? I went back and found that, during the last half dozen years in the United States of America, there was a decline in the number and proportion of people living in poverty. If you want the figures, there was a one-third cut. This is very important—a one-third decline in the proportion of people living in poverty, who are white and a one-fourth decline in the proportion of Negroes in poverty.

I might say again—more than parenthetically—this means that there is a one-third decline in the proportion of whites in poverty and a one-fourth decline in the number of non-whites in poverty. It means that in the last half dozen years, that the proportion of the poor in the United States who are Negro has increased. So, from that point of view, you see, that group has fallen behind. But then I said—What if in the next six years—which brings us as close to 1975 as you can get with these figures, I guess—what would happen is that is all that happened? Let's not get Utopian about this. Let's say in the next half dozen years you repeat the performance of the past half dozen years in making some kind of dent in the number and proportions who are classified as poor—no more, no less.

May I call your attention to the fact that if we do this in the next half dozen years, it would still leave one out of every eight people in poverty, and one out of every four—let's put it in families, that is the spending unit—it would still leave one out of every eight white families in poverty, and one out of every four Negro families in poverty. So, you see again, this is hardly the ideal, when you still leave 25 per cent of the Negro families with incomes approximately less than \$3000. Let's say that is all we do in the next six years, and, my friends, again if you go through this exercise, as you see, when you look at this paper, the results are absolutely fabulous.

I will give you some of the grand totals, although I don't think that is the important figure. It would mean in 1967 levels—the year just past—there would be an increase in actual expenditures on the part of this population of the United States of America for all the goods and services that you and I purvey—whether it is the tangible goods, like some of you guys like, or some services like we think we are performing in education—there would be an increase of \$103 billion of what we call consumer expenditures in the United States of America, just like that.

And may I repeat, for the last time, again I promise, with no great Utopian breakthrough, just repeating the experience of the last half dozen years.

Now, I think the big story really is not so much that big number, big as it is, and, believe me, it is a

conservative estimate, I was very, very careful. If you want to be technical about it, I used the savings rate that prevailed in 1967, which was a very high one. Many economists think it was an abnormally high one. I did everything that is as conservative as possible, and you still get a \$100 billion annual increase in 1967 levels in consumer expenditures.

What is fascinating about this is when I put in the machine this information—we have a fancy computer, which I hope never makes mistakes—and asked myself—What would happen to the distribution of expenditures? What would people buy as the level of the standard of living goes up? And I hope it will, too—you folks will really get a feel for this, you know, both the Negro and the white person, when they are living at the lower level of income. They buy approximately the same kinds of goods in the same proportions and when you look at the paper, you will see the figures are almost exactly the same for white and non-white.

Families at the lower levels of the income scale have to put their dough in the basics. You just watch. As they begin to move out, as you know—move into higher levels of income, where the level of income goes up. And just one or two figures—you will read them all when you take a look at the paper. Take an item like housing. There would be an increase in housing expenditures of about \$71 billion to \$95 billion at 1967 levels—a very heavy increase in housing expenditures.

And I understand there are a number of people in the audience—I know I have met a number of them—from the telephone system. You take a look at what happens, for example, as you move into higher levels of income, to the industry known as the telephone industry. I won't tell you the figures. I want you to look at it, read it, and take a hard look. Go look at expenditures for automobiles, expenditures for gas and oil, expenditures for medical services—absolutely fabulous.

I think I will end here and just make one more statement. As I went through these figures and tried to assess what the manpower and consumer potential is in the so-called urban poor—as I said—first I found it startling, even though I thought I knew all these figures, had worked with them for so many years. It is really an eye-opener in terms of potential—and if you want to look at this strictly from an economic point of view, which, obviously, is not the only one, my friends—this is it. But I would like to note and call your attention to what is said in this paper, not so much in the over-all global figures, but as to what happens to people in terms of expectations and levels of standards of living, when this sort of thing happens.

And I am reminded very much—this is my final comment—of what happened when a very famous economist by the name of David Ricardo many, many years ago wrote a book on the principles of economics. And David Ricardo kept saying that it made no difference—whenever you increased the income of people, they

would spend it in riotous living and all the other things people spend it on, and wages would tend to hover at the subsistence level.

When you went to school and when you took the course in economics, you heard about a law—the iron law of wages. I went to school and read David Ricardo—because I had to. And one time in class I asked my famous professor at Columbia what was the score on Ricardo? He was a pretty sharp cookie. He was a millionaire when 26 years of age—a member of Parliament. How could such a perceptive economist make this kind of statement?

And the professor said, "Your problem is you didn't read the last edition of Ricardo's principles." I think it was the ninth—or whatever it was. And the old boy made a change in that last edition. He said as follows: "You know, as I have been watching some of the information—(of course, it was fragmentary back in those days, he didn't have the avalanche of statistics we have now)—I notice something very interesting. I notice, as levels of income rise, so does the level of living rise—so does the standard of living, and the standard of defined aspirations and goals. And people, instead of shelling it out immediately, even saved—and increasing income kindled alive expectations and aspirations . . ." This made a heck of a difference! You know that David Ricardo in the very last edition of his Principles changed the score card. And I would suggest that, as you read this paper when you get a chance, you see if this may not even be true in the United States of America in the next half dozen years—that if we really go down this commitment, that we talk about, and we mentioned so well yesterday in our confrontations, we could really have a "riot" and an "explosion." But it will be the kind which would see a tremendous rise not only in the levels but in the standard of living of the American people.

Thank you very much for being a fine audience.

MR. BOOTH: Dr. Wolfbein, you have vindicated all of the good things I have said, but—and more important—these are tremendously valuable and stimulating remarks you have given us.

Now, if you will stay here at this mike, I will go here and sit down and take it easy and I will simply read the questions and expect you to know all the answers.

Is that fair?

DR. WOLFBEIN: Very good.

MR. BOOTH: The first question is an easy one. Can business effectively train 500,000 youths in the next three years?

DR. WOLFBEIN: You want me to answer that now?

There are two ways of answering it, of course. One is to say—yes—and run. You will be glad to know I

have to catch a train back to Philadelphia almost immediately. But, seriously, this is what we are going to talk about for the rest of the morning, and again I call your particular attention to the film that is coming up, and some of the discussion by the panel.

I just want to say one word on this. Otherwise, it would be gratuitous. You will hear what the experts will have to say. You will hear Mr. Dyer of the telephone company and Mr. Windsor and all the rest, who have had personal experience on the firing line.

The firing line I experienced, as some of you know, was for three years in a training and retraining program of the United States of America. I was there on the third floor of the Labor Department when Arthur Goldberg came with them, and I was the one who got stuck with it, as some of you know.

What impressed me all the time—what I kept beating at in the Department—what I think is emerging more and more now on the scene, as you heard Mr. Booth say this morning, are two things. First, the people who are in charge, sincerely believe that the business community can do this, Mr. Booth. And, as you heard the Vice President say yesterday, as you heard all of us say, whether we believe this or not, the chips are going to be with the business community in the next few years, and I think that the training of the half million people of the hard-core—let's say, of the real intractably unemployed, even though we don't get in our various fancy statistics—has to be done. And I am hard put to think who else can do it if not the business community. And again just one other word on this—by business community, I hope you understand that I am using this in its all-encompassing sense. It means not only, again, the telephone company, and IBM, and those of you who put out machine tools, and so on, but also some of the other organizations like universities—all employing institutions have a common denominator. I think in the next half dozen years we have to see how we can elicit and motivate and get the participation of the five hundred, six hundred thousand intractables, and then actually, when we bring them into the arena, put them through training programs.

MR. BOOTH: Here, Dr. Wolfbein, are two questions which call for you to amplify your summary of the paper. The first one, I believe, needs a clarification of a category. Please define the term "professional" as you used it.

DR. WOLFBEIN: Well, I love to do that. There is a very famous word that you find in the dictionary. I will spell it for you. Then I will ask you a question about it. The word is "ecdysiast." How many people here know the mean of that word? Raise your hands. That is a sharp audience you have here, Mr. Booth. And I don't think these guys heard me before. So this is a significant statistic.

MR. BOOTH: I would have raised my hand, but I was afraid you would ask me to define it.

DR. WOLFBEIN: You heard me before, I think. I know you have. As you know, the Third Abridged Dictionary defines ecdysiast as an exotic dancer. It is a very polite definition, would you say?

I can't tell what generation you guys are from, but in my generation it was folks like Gypsy Rose Lee. I won't mention some of the other famous people. Gypsy Rose Lee has gone on to higher things. She is now an author, and she is a television personality. You can't beat that. I bring that to your attention, because it is responsive to the definition of "professional." Ecdysiasts are classified as professionals, professional personnel.

I don't know whether that group has been increasing or not. I have lost touch with the mainstream of the American cultural scene. But, seriously, the great majority, in fact the preponderant majority of the people who are classified as professionals, professional personnel, are the ones that you and I would think of. They are, basically, the people who have to go through a college education, to get on the job—the doctors, the lawyers, engineers, chemists, architects. You name it. But it does include entertainment personnel and professional athletes. And I understand why it is being asked because, if you will start throwing in Gypsy Rose Lee—What is the big deal that professional personnel are exceeding skilled personnel?

It is a good question. Whenever I make a presentation like this—and I speak mostly to teacher groups—and when they hear ecdysiasts are classified with them as professional personnel, it gets to be quite a shock, and I often get letters afterward complaining about this. If any of you don't like the idea of ecdysiasts being classified with you and me, please don't write to me. Write to the United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C. They are in charge.

But really, this is a very, very significant figure. Twenty years ago to the year, the proportion of the American working population which was skilled was double that of the professional person. Today they are "even-steven." And again, it is very difficult to see anything in the offing which doesn't show that professional group really moving ahead. And I suspect in the next half dozen years, it isn't even going to be a race.

May I take this opportunity to emphasize the fact—and perhaps I should have done this before—that, as you know, there are just as many demands and just as many shortages of people with manual talents as there are with so-called academic or professional talents. If you don't believe me—if you can find an auto mechanic or a good TV repairman, my name and serial number are on the program, please get in touch with me. As a matter of fact, as you will see by the chart, great demands are coming up for professional and skilled personnel, but

we have to face up to the fact that we are the only country in the world which employs the majority of its workers—for better or worse—in providing services, rather than goods.

That is the way the ball is bouncing.

MR. BOOTH: This question is about the drain of manpower. Dr. Wolfbein—it says: Are your charts based on the continuation of the Vietnam war? If not, what would your charts predict?

DR. WOLFBEIN: My charts in terms of the fact that I was asked to look ahead for another half dozen years or so, to 1975—all those figures that you read in my paper and that you will see in the chart assume that we will not be in the Vietnam war—in terms of the current harassment—in 1975. We will still have international problems—not of the kind we have right now.

The question asks, "What if that is not the case?" I think it even upends the figures even more. It puts more and more of our chips on exactly the fields that we need in terms of skill and professional personnel. What I am saying is that these figures may be hopeful to say that, by 1975, we will not be in this kind of international situation. In the next few years, if it still continues, it will not change the basic, long-range trend you see portrayed.

MR. BOOTH: If a guaranteed annual income should become a reality in the next five years, would this affect your study?

DR. WOLFBEIN: That's a neat one. Even if I had rehearsed for this, I don't think I would have expected this. It is a very relevant question.

Now that I am in Philadelphia, I don't get to Washington as often as when I used to be here. I do come down a couple of times a month, and I must say I have noticed something that I think I ought to share with you folks. I am beginning to hear this thing alphabetized more and more, and if I know Washington, once you start alphabetizing something, it is a clear and present danger.

Anyway, I am hearing more and more of this referred to as the MIA—known in the trade as the minimum income allowance. I think we are referring to the same thing. I appreciate very much the fact that I wasn't asked whether I was in favor of it or not—that would take a couple of hours. I would have to filibuster that one. But if you ask me the question—What if we had an MIA or a negative income tax? And how would this affect the trends here? I would say, first, in terms of the demand for people, and what you and I as employers need, I don't see this affecting it much. But it might have some kind of effect, of course, on the labor supply—that we would get. But rather than give you my own personal, subjective answer to this, I think it is more important for me to answer it as follows:

That when you go around with your lantern looking for the truth on this subject and asking people about this, you know what happens. You run the whole gamut—and I would be dissembling if I gave you just my subjective answer and didn't call your attention to the fact that very sincere people who are studying this come up with completely different answers. You have a guy like Ericson up in Harvard—if I may mention that distinguished institution—who puts it right on the line, and says—"If you have an MIA, it is going to increase the incentives to work." And then I don't have to tell you, there is a group of other folks who think quite the contrary.

I think one of the great things that happened within the last year, or so, is the U. S. Chamber of Commerce—and I am not advertising them—has not only sponsored a conference like this one, where you get this kind of confrontation of give and take, but the Chamber also, as you know, sponsored a conference on exactly this topic. And I think the best answer I can give again—and give you 30 seconds of judgment on my own part—is to go back and take a look at some of the basic stuff that came out of that conference. And you will get yourself a real good answer. You will get the spectrum of answers, and I think you will get a lot of good judgments on what this would do.

We had some very, very good people, who were here and talked on this—Milton Friedman, Jim Tobin, and all the others—in a nice package, by the United States Chamber of Commerce.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you for that nice commercial. If I had a copy of your recent book, which you published, I would give it a plug, too.

DR. WOLFBEIN: I made a mistake. When I wrote those books, I was in government, and I was about to exit. And I felt I ought to be very clean about it. So I decided not to take royalties and it gets me right over here, when I think about it.

MR. BOOTH: Here is a very interesting philosophical question. If the Negro is the last great resource of manpower, would the communities that attract them be better off economically in the long run?

DR. WOLFBEIN: Well, again, it is easy for me to stand up here and be in front of these microphones, and say, "Yes." It is very important to understand—and I now live in a community known as Philadelphia, and I think I can speak now from more personal experience. It is easy to say, "Yes," but you have to realize, I think, for the first time in American history—maybe the second time, this must have been what happened during the 1930s, but certainly the first time in modern times—we have had an enormous movement of the population not in response to economic opportunity. You are think-

ing of the character who has written a brilliant article called "Internal Migration and Economic Opportunity."

The idea was that the movement of the population is internally moving as a response to economic opportunity, such as the movement westward, and other such movements. But I think in the last half dozen years, what has happened is not quite that kind of phenomenon.

We talk about the great increase in productivity in the United States. I don't know whether you know that by 1970, just a couple of years from now, we will have doubled our output per manhour in this country in the last quarter of a century. Can you imagine that? Since the end of World War II, we have doubled the amount of goods and services that you and I produce for every hour of work we put in, and nowhere has this been true more than in agriculture, of course.

And I just went up to an adjacent state, New Jersey. This is worth 30 seconds' notice. It is known as the Garden State, believe it or not. And there is a lot of truck farming there, and I went up to see some of the machinery that is being used. I tell you it is out of this world. Maybe some of you have seen it.

Do you know how they pick tomatoes up there? They have a machine. I guess it is called machine. It scares the daylight out of you. They posture the machine *vis a vis* the crop, as they say in the trade, which in English means they take the gizmo and put it next to the tomato crop, and the thing sends out an arm known as a sensing arm.

You know what it does? It feels the tomato, and, if that tomato is ripe, it plucks it; if it isn't ripe, it leaves her alone.

And you are welcome to come to New Jersey. I will give you the place and location, if you want a little "field" trip.

You know, when you see this, you see this in real life now. No kidding around, this may not be statistics, but it is the best productivity I have seen—with all due deference to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and all the other great outfits. This has happened up and down and across the agricultural sector. We only have 5.5 million people working on the farms of the United States for 200-million population. It is incredible.

What happened? Where have all these workers gone to? Just look around you.

So, I think we have had more of a push, you see,—rather than a pull. We have now in our various cities—and I need not tell you—huge gobs of population who have not moved in response to economic opportunity. Why did I say, "yes" 'way back an hour back when you asked me that question? Does this represent economic opportunity in the city?

I think that now that it is here. And if we do go down the road that all of us have been talking about yesterday, and we will be talking about today, and begin to meet some of these commitments, then I think that is the story. And I am glad you asked the question. That is what would kindle alive even a paper like mine,

because then you would have in the cities—and I can't think of anything that would help these clichés about the rebirth of the cities, and so on, more than to kindle alive the hands and the talents and the skills that we have here now, and to see a rise in their standard of living.

That is, when the chips are down, what is going to make the city the central city—if I may say so—even the urban fringes.

MR. BOOTH: Dr. Wolfbein, your fabulous story about the dexterity of that tomato feeler and picker would lead to this one. Have any in-depth studies been made which compare the trainability of Negroes with whites? Is there any substantial difference in the manual dexterity between whites and blacks?

DR. WOLFBEIN: Yes, I have not only conducted—I have been in charge of surveys like that.

To answer that question, as far as I am concerned (and I have empirical evidence and documentation)—if you take comparable groups—I don't care whether they are black or white or yellow or whatever it is—of course, they are all trainable. That is really not the problem. The problem is that, when you get a group of people, as happened with those in the movie that is coming up,—when you get a group of people, let's say, of intractably unemployed Negroes, or Mexican-Americans, with whom we have had contact, and others, what you get, of course, are folks who need much more of a head start than some other groups. And what it really means is that we have to start further back toward genesis, with some groups, or others—go down to a head start program here in what we call the Nation's Capital—and again you have to see this to believe it. I was here several months ago at one of the new head start classes in the District of Columbia. They had a group of Negro children who were underprivileged, who were in a group where they put an orange on the table—you know, an orange. They didn't know what it was. They didn't know whether to throw it, chuck it, bite it—they didn't know what it was. What we have to do, ladies and gentlemen, when we move into the training arena is take into account the transactions with the environment, as we say in psychology, that various people have had. And one of the great things that we have to do in the training and retraining programs is to look that straight in the face. And I think that a necessary, though not a sufficient condition for successful training programs, is to increase the number and variety of transactions with the environment that so many, especially the urban poor, have never even had a chance to have.

And when you do, then, of course, again the whole thing is kindled alive. The very first program that we mounted under the Manpower Development Training Act, as I stand and tell you again, was in New Jersey—you may have gathered by now I am a voting resident of New Jersey. We were going to take some of the migrant

laborers and put them into jobs called tractor repairman—a real smart idea—move them into a little better occupation, higher paid, very badly needed, the mechanical skill, and these people had the skills.

You know what we found out right on the first day—that we couldn't start that training and retraining program, because these guys couldn't read the manual. Big, big deal! Even very sharp cookies like myself hadn't anticipated the fact that you have to be able to read a repair manual if you are going to teach somebody to work a tractor. So we had to go further back to genesis, as I said, and we began with basic education in terms of reading. Otherwise you couldn't train them.

MR. BOOTH: Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great temptation to go on and on with this delightful man. We could endlessly learn from him. I get paid primarily for keeping the program on time.

So, Dr. Wolfbein, here is one final question, and I believe that it will give you satisfaction, because it will prove to a dedicated and profound person, like yourself, that your audience listens and gets your main point. This says—what would be the effect of the tomato-picker on the ecdysiast?

DR. WOLFBEIN: I think we ought to applaud that question.

If I were real smart, I would answer that. Let's say we ought to congratulate the man who asked it. Thank you very, very much. You have been a tremendous audience.

MR. BOOTH: Rarely do we have to move from one speaker to another, but this is a time when I feel we are depriving ourselves of a treat, only because we have some other tremendously important and interesting people coming along here.

Ladies and gentlemen, in recent years, quite a few pilot experimental programs have been initiated at the community level to equip the hard core unemployed, including the so-called unemployables, to participate in the world of productive work. We here at the National Chamber have observed and studied a number of these programs and, out of our studies, we have found a pattern of four techniques which, when applied—you have been looking for specifics—will help the hard-core unemployed fill, and hold, entry-level jobs satisfactorily.

Let me just sketch them, the four techniques for realizing manpower potentials of the hard-core unemployed, which involve things that you are already familiar with, I believe, but they will serve as an introduction for the film, which follows.

No. 1 is recruiting the hard-core unemployed. And you don't do it just by putting an ad in the newspaper. Recruiting the hard-core unemployed is a science in itself.

No. 2. Making the functionally illiterate able to absorb skill training, and motivating them to want to receive basic training for jobs.

And 3. Building into programs the essential skill-training for entry-job openings; and

No. 4. The followup, or job-coaching—the guidance which has been found to be absolutely necessary to help many hard-core unemployed—after once being hired—to adjust to the punctuality, regularity and responsibility to the job, which is expected of every job holder.

This follow-up is also necessary to help the new job holders with their personal problems, so that they will be able to work on a regular schedule.

To illustrate these four techniques, the National Chamber prepared a film—you might call it a documentary in work clothes. It was made especially for this meeting, and there is nothing fancy about it. The setting is in New Haven and Philadelphia.

And here it is.

"OUTREACH"

-- A study of techniques in the finding and job preparation of the hard-core unemployed

A Motion Picture Presentation of
The Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Produced for the 1968 Workshop on the Urban Poor
(16 mm. Color-Sound. Time: 27 minutes, 30 seconds)

Commentary by (in order of appearance):

Ronald Howard
Manager
Adult Armchair Education Program
Opportunities Industrialization Center
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Bennie Sheffield
Supervisor
Hill Dwight David Employment Center
Community Progress, Inc.
New Haven, Connecticut

Dave Hicks
Recruiter
Community Progress, Inc.
New Haven, Connecticut

Mrs. Ellen Murray Derbyshire
Supervisor
New Haven Skill Center
New Haven, Connecticut

David Brown
Enrollee
New Haven Skill Center
Opportunities Industrialization Center
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Frederick Miller
Deputy Executive Director
Opportunities Industrialization Center
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

James Farer
Manager
Opportunities Industrialization Skill Center
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Narration by:

Charles Armentrout
Assistant Manager
News Department
Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Washington, D. C.

MR. ARMENTROUT:

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and in New Haven, Connecticut, techniques have been developed to seek out and train the unemployed so they may become productive citizens.

In Philadelphia, there's an organization with a program known mainly by its initials—O.I.C.—standing for Opportunities Industrialization Center.

Here's why—and how—OIC digs out hard-core unemployed in these neighborhoods.

MR. HOWARD:

My name is Ronald Howard. I'm manager of OIC's Adult Armchair Education Program. Adult Armchair Education is primarily an outreach program. It was originally created as a means of extending our program efforts further into the heart of the grass roots community. AAE is essentially an innovated approach for going directly to those people who for a number of reasons are reluctant to come to us.

They're frequently unaware of the kinds of programs that are available and of the kinds of ways of moving into these types of programs. In other instances we find that there's a lack of confidence on the part of our target population as to whether or not they can succeed in educational or vocational training programs. The normal means of communication, such as television, radio, newspapers, are frequently inadequate for convincing our target population that this means them. This means in many instances that it's necessary to directly go to the people and convince them that this is your program. It means you.

We're trying to reach all types of persons primarily adults 20 years of age or older. We find that we're interested primarily in the unemployed, the underemployed, the uneducated, the undereducated. And this includes men, it includes women, it includes people on welfare, it includes adults, it includes elderly persons. A range of persons. We find that it is best, we find that it is frequently possible to best reach these people by going directly to their homes. This is where they are, after all, and this is where we find that we can most attractively bring them into a first step of programming. We begin by sending recruiters into a neighborhood to ring doorbells and explain to people face to face what our program is and what it's intended to do.

Primarily we use people who come directly from the poverty neighborhoods in which we are attempting to recruit. What we need to see are people who can actually communicate in the same language and on the same terms of the people that we're trying to reach. We need people who can understand the types of problems and the kinds of initial rejections of the initial reluctance explanations of why they can't participate so that usually the persons who service the recruiters in our program are people who come directly from the indigenous population.

We usually succeed in attracting a person living in that block to use their home as a center for learning activities. We'll then send a trained group leader into these classes and on a weekly basis they'll be able to provide instruction in such basic skills as reading skills, math skills. They'll be able to conduct active group discussions in such areas as minority history, consumer education, community problems and solutions.

Now out of this informal learning atmosphere we find that our people begin to develop confidence and motivation. They begin to be encouraged that they can succeed in educational and training programs.

So that from our AAE classes, persons frequently move into vocational training programs such as OIC. They move into adult basic education classes. They're motivated to move into a range of school board classes that are offered in evening schools and in adult day schools.

You don't have to convince a person who doesn't have a job that they need a job. You don't have to convince a person who cannot read or write that they need more education. But these fears, these anxieties, that become associated with education serve as obstacles to their participation in these kind of programs. This is the reason why it's necessary to kind of dissipate these fears and anxieties through a tension-free, relaxed setting. And we find that the informal atmosphere of the home provides an adequate opportunity for doing just this task.

MR. ARMENTROUT: In New Haven, an organization with the name, Community Progress, Incorporated—or C.P.I.—also searches out the unemployed.

MR. SHEFFIELD: I'm Bennie Sheffield, Supervisor of the Hill Dwight David Employment Center in the Hill section of New Haven. Now in our Community Progress program we not only have pre-vocational and vocational training programs, but we also have neighborhood employment centers. We found in our job training and our pre-vocational training that people don't just automatically come in when you open your doors. So we had to open our neighborhood employment centers to them—to sort of reach out into the neighborhood and get these people. Now we have people who come in to us, for various reasons, or we have to go out and find them.

For some reason, we don't know why, people look at us as just like any other office, perhaps even part of

a bureaucracy, we know they want jobs but they don't come in. Perhaps they're afraid that they'll be turned down at the door or they're afraid that they might not be treated cordially or a lot of thoughts might run through their minds. Now we have neighborhood employment workers or neighborhood workers whose job it is to dispell these fears and to win the people's confidence and to bring them in to our offices.

MR. ARMENTROUT: Ace recruiter Dave Hicks, ex-Harlem Globetrotter and a high school basketball star in his home city of New Haven.

MR. HICKS: I've been a neighborhood worker for the past three years here, in the Hill which is a very large area in New Haven. My job mainly is to make contact with the—any city residents, find out their problems, and their needs and try to convince them to come into our neighborhood employment center to further our discussions.

I'm out in the neighborhood say half of the day. Normally, in the morning or afternoon to do my recruiting—I'm knocking on doors, talking to people in the streets, pool rooms, stores, barber shops, etc.

There's many, many places we could find the unemployed and hardcore, just by simply walking in your neighborhood. I usually find them in front of pool halls or either in front of bars, streets, and by door to door knocking.

I might know this fellow and I might not know him, but I would approach him and I would either ask him if he's working or not and explain our full program to him and then ask him would he be interested. If not, I would take his name and address down and then recontact him if he is not able to come to the center at that time or either give him an appointment to come and see me.

I have a tendency to relate to people, well I relate to the people very well. I think by talking to them, I'm not the type to be too formal with them. I'm more like them. I feel that a person coming from the outside more or less has a theory and different types of sayings. But you get a neighborhood person that these other people know and they will more or less lean towards you than another person. In other words, they'll have more faith in you.

MR. SHEFFIELD: When some of these people come to our neighborhood employment centers, they can't read or write and if they are some years, this is embarrassing to them. Here the neighborhood worker's job is to explain the program to them. Once they have explained the programs, to take them out to where some of these programs are in operation. Those who are needing especially basic education, here they can see the classrooms, talk to the teachers and see other students who are from much the same circumstances that they find themselves in. And here they see that what seemed to be so impossible to them that now if these people can make it that they at least have a chance. This sort of

being in operation sort of helps them too, it helps motivate them, makes them feel like they can make it. But I have to point out here that this will never happen unless we have people to reach out and find them right in their neighborhoods.

MR. ARMENTROUT: Basic education is offered by the New Haven Board of Education in this center. The supervisor is Mrs. Ellen Murray Derbyshire.

MRS. DERBYSHIRE: The sole purpose of the program being to train both youths and adults in basic communication, computation and basic manipulative skills.

Many of the people who come here are people who have not had an opportunity to go to school before to learn. Most of them who come here have difficulty reading and many of them even in this day and age have difficulty in writing their own signature. Many of the ones who come here also are those who cannot speak our English language. They might be very slow in their own language. For example, approximately 40 per cent of our people are Spanish-speaking people and our job here is to be able to help them to both speak, read and write the English language.

When they first come to school, most of these people are very embarrassed, they're very hesitant about coming into our building, and I might say we don't call it a school. We call our place the skill center. They come here for skills—communication skills, computation skills, and we introduce them into job skills because our ultimate purpose is to get them either to go on to further academic learning or to get into some type of job training or job opportunity. As I said they are embarrassed, they're hesitant. When they come in they feel, I'm the only one who cannot do this, I'm the only one who can't read, who can't write, and it is our job here to make them feel relaxed, to feel secure, to feel that this is the place where they will be welcome.

MR. ARMENTROUT: David Brown, 35, unemployed a year, is among those made welcome.

MR. BROWN: I came to the skill center through CPI and state welfare and also through the community service which is the CPI I just stated. I had worked previously in private work for 10 years. I got involved in policy playing, which is numbers, betting, and subsequently I was fired. After I was fired, I was just lost out in the world. I couldn't get a job because my education was a little bit too low and therefore I had no other choice but to go back to policy playing or seek some other kinds of legal justifiable means in order to support my family.

Well, I was unemployed for about a year and my feeling was actually low—down in the dumps. My morale was very low. I didn't know which way to go or what to do in order to earn sufficient funds to support my wife and six kids.

This school has elevated me spiritually and also physically because if you are confused, which I was, and you are sick mentally and physically, basic education has done for me I don't know where to start to express what they have done for me. I know they reassured me that I wasn't left alone in this big world and therefore, they have enabled me to see the outlook on life and to face society with dignity and also feel secure that somebody cares about the poor people.

They have prepared me so I can actually help myself and I have been over here five months and right now I feel like they have gave me, elevated me to a level that I couldn't have got going to school for two years. They made me feel like I was a human being and enabled me to write, read, do arithmetic 80 per cent better than I was before I came here.

MRS. DERBYSHIRE: In our classes we have two types of groupings. One, homogeneous grouping, and the second one, heterogeneous grouping.

A person might come in, he cannot read at all, he cannot write at all, we have special classes just for these people. We would not, for example, put a person who is let's say working at a first grade level in with a group who already can read who can read fairly well, who can write well. We have special classes for these people also, and as the person progresses in his particular group, then he will be moved to the next advanced group.

In our social living classes, the individuals are grouped heterogeneously as I have previously mentioned and in this class they mostly sit and talk about their duties as a citizen, their responsibility as a head of a household, as a member of a family. They talk about the city in which they live, the neighborhood in which they live, about New Haven, about the functions of the government to the city of New Haven. They learn about the various places in New Haven that might be of both financial, cultural, educational value to them. They take trips to many of these places. They go to many different types of places of industry, factories, to our telephone company, to our gas company to see how people work, to Winchester, to many of the places as I said to find out the kind of jobs that they think they might be interested in. Social living is just as it implies.

MR. ARMENTROUT: In Philadelphia, OIC operates a feeder center. Those persons motivated through the Adult Armchair Education program likely will be enrolled in pre-vocational studies at the OIC feeder center.

Frederick Miller, deputy executive director of OIC explains why most hard-core unemployed cannot be put immediately into vocational training.

MR. MILLER: We have found that if you do put a person directly into a vocational class, his chances of succeeding in that class are not as good as if he had been through some prevocational training or orientation to prepare him for the vocational experience. Now this is especially

significant when you keep in mind that in dealing with adults you're talking about a group of trainees who have not been into any formal school situation for a number of years. In many cases, ten, fifteen years is quite common.

They need the orientation to this whole area of training; they need an opportunity to adjust to the routine of training different from previous years, of course, they need very real help and basic skills and the communication skills, the reading, writing and arithmetic, etc.

A person who is literally illiterate has to learn just very basic literacy—has to learn to read and write and it may be as simple as reading and writing his name. Generally we have people who are undereducated—they're functionally illiterate which simply means that they don't have mastery of literacy sufficient to be able to function. They can't master the training. Quite often they don't read the materials successfully with comprehension, etc.

Obviously, trainees can't learn from books, from written materials, if they can't read. Reading is also associated with the concept of one's self—it helps his whole motivation—if he doesn't think much of himself, he's not very confident in his capabilities, he's not likely to learn very well, so this is very vital.

And by the same token, you can't expect an adult trainee to go through a long period of literacy and reading skills only prior to getting him involved in skilled training because you have to do it concurrently—get him started, get him motivated, he begins to realize why it's necessary and then while he's engaging in skilled training and getting near to his employment objective, he concurrently will be improving his skills.

One of the most important aspects of the feeder program initially is to have people to begin to come to grips with their own personal attitudes which of course influence their behavior. Many times trainees have difficulty with adapting the mores and the habits and conforming to the standards that's expected of them in training and they confuse that with what they feel is their personal privilege of deciding how they might want to act. We have in our society today quite troubled times—the cities themselves are troubled—we have many people who really are frustrated—they see the society as being organized against them, they see the white man as being the adversary, they're not sure any more that equal opportunity is really going to ever be a functional concept in our society—and these attitudes certainly influence their ability, capability and potential to learn.

MR. FARER: My name is James Farer. I'm the Branch Manager here at the center which is located in the heart of the what we usually call "ghetto."

This building was the prototype for all the OICs which now exist all over the country. It was started back in 1963 where Dr. Leon H. Sullivan and Rev. Thomas I. Ritter, who is now our Executive Director,

met with certain councilmen, Councilman McIntosh, I believe, and they together decided to let us have this building which was once a run-down police station. When we came into the building it had three feet of water in it. We have rehabilitated the building and this was the beginning of OIC here in Philadelphia.

We teach the following courses: We have welding, sheet metal, machine tool operation, teletype, the restaurant course including in that course is waitress training and commercial cooking—we also have on our second floor the power sewing classes, the drafting class, electronic assembly, and the commercial laboratory training.

Some of the courses run an average of nine weeks, but other courses such as our machine tool operations class, our chemistry lab class, they run as long as 25 weeks. With the shorter courses, as in power sewing, you'll find that we try to get all of our trainees to learn to operate all the pieces of equipment. By so doing they can be more versatile to the employer.

In our power sewing class, if a trainee is not able to spend the whole nine weeks in the course, she can learn to operate one piece of equipment in a two-week's span and be placed on a job.

But in our longer courses, inasmuch as we are dealing with all kinds of age spans here and also we are dealing with persons with all kinds of educational background, we find it necessary to have what we call cut-off points. These cut-off points will show that although a person cannot complete the course, at least he can go a certain length and about three months or so—he's placed on the entry level on a job.

For instance: Take the course in the machine tool operation, after three or four months training, he can be placed as a machine tool helper.

Incidentally, I think we should also know that all of our courses are structured according to the needs and desires of industry. We have in every area an industrial advisory group, and this group enlightens us as to how to structure the course and what to teach.

MR. MILLER: Well, the business in industry, the representatives from the various companies has been a great resource to us in the area of advising with respect to our curriculum. The technical advisory committees are organized which are made up of people who represent not only certain companies but particular occupations. Many companies have supplied representatives who are craftsmen, craftsmen in their particular areas—and they help us to structure a curriculum which is also job related so that once we have provided training, it's training that will be directly related to the needs of the employer. Now I think this becomes very important. They advise us in other ways. In the type of training equipment, help us get equipment, they help us with the placement. We get feedback from employers with respect to what areas of change or modification we ought to employ in our programs so that the training is sensitive and responsive to the needs of industry.

The follow-up of the trainees once they're placed in a job is a very vital part of the program. First of all, we want to make sure that there is success in the whole business and success to us means the person is trained and employable and employed. Then in turn, he should be an asset to the employer and this means that we have to follow through with the employer to find out how he is making out on the job, get an idea from the trainee as well as the employer, the effectiveness of the training and in many cases to help that employee to adjust to the new work situation. Many of our trainees have not had regular employment particularly in the occupational areas that we train for a long period of time and this becomes very vital.

People from the ghetto, people from very humble kinds of backgrounds and circumstances certainly can be trained and our experience has confirmed this a thousand times over. They are motivated, given some legitimate vehicle through which they can maximize their potential. They will be trained and can be trained and I think we've demonstrated that we successfully have trained them because the motivation is there, it's latent, and any individual and a stereotype which characterizes this group of people as being a lost cause is simply a stereotype that intelligent people should not hold on to because it just doesn't apply.

There's a great deal of heterogeneity among the group of people we're talking about, there are individual gems there who, given a right opportunity, the developmental opportunities, experiences, years of exposure, there's no telling where many of these people will go, what they can do and the contribution they can make. So—oh yes they can be trained and they want to be trained and you show them a legitimate, honest situation they can be in and they will be trained.

MR. BOOTH: Now, ladies and gentlemen, we can go along with the program.

Let me go along with you because there are some very interesting things to be gained out of the remainder of the program to bridge the gap now between that film and what we are going to hear.

Let me again identify the four techniques which the film illustrated:

- No. 1. Recruiting—or the outreach;
- No. 2. Basic education—or literacy training;
- No. 3. Vocational, or job skill, training; and
- No. 4. The follow-up—or job coaching.

Now, then, for something else: I would like to outline for you very briefly, a program for community action. And it will take just a minute to do it.

As you would expect, there are steps involved in this program, too.

The first step is a method of attack—a process—and we call it the "Forward America" process, which the National Chamber has developed and tested, and which works.

The process here is a technique to organize people for action and to relate one problem to another. For example, hard-core unemployment cannot be solved simply by providing jobs. The problem reaches into the schools, into homes, and into our welfare institutions.

"Forward America" is an organizational approach to help you look at the total community and its wide range of problems. It will help you mobilize the resources necessary to deal with hard-core unemployment and other problems on a priority basis.

This "Forward America" process is described in a brochure, a copy of which you will find in your take-home kit of materials, which will be given to you when we recess for lunch. I hope you will read this "Forward America" brochure carefully, and then write us if you would care for additional information.

The second step in a successful program for community action is to recruit the leadership at the grass-roots level in your city—the leadership that is essential to help you make your plans—and to help implement them.

With the help of this leadership, you can determine, and evaluate, what is now being done—and what is being planned for the future of your community, in providing basic literacy, job orientation and vocational training for youths and adults.

The third step is to keep a continuing inventory of current and anticipated entry-job openings, in order that time, money and effort will not be wasted in training people for job openings which do not exist when the training is completed. This is common sense.

The fourth step in a successful program for community action is to encourage employers to re-examine—and to re-evaluate—their entry-level job standards, in order to maintain a realistic relationship to job requirements.

There are five other important steps in this program for community action, but I will not enumerate them here. You will find them spelled out in another pamphlet in your take-home kit of materials.

This pamphlet has a long name, but it tells the story: "Guidelines for Programs to Hire and Train Out-of-School Youth and the Hard-Core Unemployed."

When you read this pamphlet, and I don't mean to kid about it, because it is basically essential, you will see this program for community action is rooted in a couple of basic principles. No. 1 is the involvement of leadership in the ghetto from the outset. And No. 2. Making the hard-core unemployed literate and trained for job openings, and then they are ready for the hiring process, which everybody is looking for.

There is one other pamphlet in your take-home kit, to which I would like to call your attention, and which I urge you to examine carefully.

It is called "Training the Urban Unemployed for Entry-Level Jobs," and contains a wealth of experience already gained in a variety of programs.

Recruiting the urban unemployed—and the follow-up, or job coaching, after employment—are so vitally important, that we have invited two experts to answer your questions, so that you can benefit from their experience.

May I present, at this time, a man you saw in the film, and who is from Opportunities Industrialization Center in Philadelphia, Mr. Ronald Howard. And I will ask him to come to the stage. Mr. Howard.

And now may I present a man who has wide experience in the area of job coaching, Mr. David Henry. Mr. Henry, will you join us, too, so we can ask you some questions?

As I mentioned a few moments ago, the re-evaluation or accommodation of entry-job requirements to the hard-core unemployment problem is of critical importance.

So, we have invited Mr. C. L. Windsor of McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, and Mr. Lloyd E. Dyer of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Companies to share with us the experiences of their companies.

And they will join us up here now.

Now, I am sure Mr. Howard will agree with me that we should turn to other members of the panel first, because he has stated his case so well on film. We will come to him in just a moment, but we will go first to ask Mr. Henry to describe briefly the Jobs Now program in Chicago. It seems to be an excellent one. Tell us what you found necessary in the way of job coaching. Mr. Henry.

MR. HENRY: Jobs Now is the result of riots on the West Side and North Side of Chicago in 1966. The Department of Labor finances the program through the City of Chicago. It is a two-week orientation program for hard-core unemployable youth—youngsters who would not sit still for a training or retraining program because of their feelings about these various programs.

The two-week orientation consists of human relations training, money management, transportation and personal hygiene.

At the end of this two-week period, they are placed directly into employment. At this point, we assign a job coach, a person who works with the participant from the time he enters employment through the end of our contract—which may be one year, may be six months. But he is our responsibility from that point on. We are responsible for insuring that he receives all the supportive services necessary to remain employed—that he receives the support from the employer and from our end as far as his needs—that he feels wanted on the job. We take him to work at the beginning to make sure that he is oriented and knows the modes of transportation—getting back and forth.

We are talking primarily about the gang-oriented youth who, because of the influences of his community, or his own peers, sometimes does not react as society says he should react—so that there are numerous supports that are needed, and we provide this with the job coach.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you, Mr. Henry. You obviously have an excellent program there, and we want to come back and ask you more questions about it in just a few minutes.

Now I am going to ask Mr. Windsor to tell us about what his company has done to accommodate job entry requirements to the kinds of people seeking jobs in his firm.

MR. WINDSOR: First of all, I want to be sure that you understand, I am not an expert in this field, as somebody previously mentioned. I could be just one of you, who is in the audience, brought out of the audience this morning, to recite a story of what happened in our company.

In the latter part of 1965 we faced an 18-months hiring program of approximately 25,000 people. This was necessary to meet contract commitments for increased production of the many versions of the F-4. We were faced with the question whether we would establish new facilities which were available out of the State of Missouri or whether we go along with the local labor market.

We had two problems on each side. No. 1. On the out-of-state program, it required an investment of approximately \$6 to \$8 million in order to activate a facility. And also, we would have been faced with an unknown quality on the local labor market in that area.

And, as usual, you have such things as timelags and starting up a new facility, and less control than normal over a facility that is 500 miles away from the main plant. In the local labor market we were faced with approximately 3 per cent unemployed. The draft at that time was cutting very heavily into the local available males, 18 to 25. We thought we could get more women into the labor force, but we weren't sure about that. This was a question. And another question was: Could we reduce the entry requirements into our vestibule training programs?

The decision was made to use the local labor market and to adjust the entry requirements as necessary, and I want to assure you that this was not a social decision. It was purely an economic decision. In the manufacturing industry type jobs, we estimated the need for 15,000 trainees for the 18-month period.

We actually hired and trained 15,189 of these, of which 5633 were Negroes.

To accomplish this, we adjusted entry requirements as follows: We immediately dropped the requirement for the high-school graduate, as unreal and impossible to meet. We reduced our test requirements as an entry into our vestibule training programs. It went something like this.

High school grads—no test; for those individuals with some high school, we tested only for a minimum ability to learn. We threw out the old test standards for an eighth-grade individual, if they had any shop experience at all; we also hired them if we felt they had had a minimum ability to learn.

Another thing we did—we took a more lenient attitude toward previous employment history and general misstatements on the application, where previously we had been very rigid.

On our medical examination, we found out that a number of adjustments had to be made in this area. For example, we normally reject medically for three premises—hazard to self, hazard to other employees, and for insurance liability on the part of the company, inasmuch as everybody who comes to work for us is required to carry the group-insurance program.

We pretty well waived the insurance liability portion on this program. I think probably one of the greatest things was that we gave the interviewers of the company the authority to make the decision regardless of tests or any other criteria, which we previously established—if the interviewer at the employment office felt he had an individual who really wanted a job and wanted to go into the program and, as a result of the interview, he felt it was possible. We then permitted the interviewer to make that decision, and it was not questioned.

We had previously hired one out of every fourteen applicants that appeared at our employment office lobby, but during this program, we hired one out of every four who applied for a job.

How did it work? What are the conclusions? Well, there are many obvious conclusions that could be drawn. But again we are not sociologists and we have not spent extensive sums of money to explore this program completely. However, I do have a few points I think are worth mentioning. We did maintain schedules and quality of product. We feel the full information and story is not yet known, but we do know that many of these people are less flexible and adaptable to change than we thought they might be.

We did find out—and supervision generally agreed—that the program exceeded expectations. And one of the most surprising comments was that we found that our supervision specifically cited the performance of Negro women as outstanding.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, these two men, as you can recognize from their companies, manufacture or use highly sophisticated equipment, which requires some high degrees of skills, so this is an inspiring story. Mr. Dyer now will tell us about what his company has been experimenting with on a pilot basis.

MR. DYER: I confess that I am somewhat reluctant to tell you how we tried to accommodate our entry-job requirements to the problem of hiring hard-core employees, because I am afraid that the impression may be created that we are holding ourselves up as an example.

Then, in the words of George Bundy, we regard the uplifting of others as the means of one's own self-esteem. That is not the case at all. In fact, I am not at

all sure we know more about this problem than you do. We don't have any gimmicks. We are not embarked on a fancy named program, and just how successful or unsuccessful what we are doing will be is impossible to tell at this point.

We are doing it because we think it is right to do it, the right thing to do, and possibly will be a little bit constructive in the massive urban situation of which we all are a part.

Our effort is associated with the concentrated employment programs in Washington and Baltimore. The question of CEP that we are involved in is the Jobs Now portion which Mr. Henry already has discussed from his vantage point in Chicago.

Last summer, Secretary of Labor Wirtz called together a number of Washington businessmen and explained the CEP idea to them. He described the task of finding jobs and training unqualified disadvantaged minority groups, members of such minority groups, to fill these jobs as a central problem, perhaps the central problem in the entire urban situation.

We all were asked to do our part by working with CEP. We recognize that at the outset to do what was being asked of us—that is, to hire the really unqualified, hard-core—that it would be of no avail to change or lower entry standards a little bit.

The objective was to reach 'way down and give a most unusual opportunity to jobless who wouldn't even be marginal in our employment office. We decided that we could and would do this, not by changing normal employment office standards, but by eliminating any specified or consistent set of standards for applicants recruited for us by CEP, whom both the CEP staff and we obtained, and we felt might possibly be trained to do a telephone job satisfactorily.

We would then give these hard-core employees a great deal of support in the form of internal coaching, special background training, extra time and consideration in terms of supervision, assignment, transfers, and discipline, in an intensive effort to make them employable; that is, to qualify them to do their jobs in a satisfactory manner, that would maintain what we hope is a high, overall quality of telephone service.

The jobs assigned are regular entry jobs—operator, clerical and non-craft, that in all other cases are filled from the employment office. All of them have progression opportunities for advancement in pay and, dependent upon performance, to better and more demanding jobs.

We are not trying to set any quantitative records, but instead to do our best to help each person succeed.

So far, we have hired 54, of whom 50 are still on the pay roll after periods of from 2 to 6 months. Only one of the four losses has been a dismissal. Not one of those hired would have qualified under our normal standards, because of deficiencies in reading or computational skills, poor attendance records in school, poor attitude or work record in previous employment, left

previous employment without notice, excessive overweight, lack of reliable child care arrangements, unwillingness to work the hours assigned, inability to speak understandably, and criminal convictions.

The training process is difficult, because in the main, their ability to learn is really deficient. But our special training and coaching approach has, in most cases, seemed to result in demonstrably greater motivation and desire to succeed. And this is a large part of the battle. We can recognize that any approach, such as this, which makes exceptions, that is, provides special opportunities and treatment for employees, but not for the others, would be in danger of being contested by the union. We explained to our union, the Communication Workers of America, the purpose of our effort, and the way we planned to proceed, and found them most understanding.

We and the union worked out and signed a joint memorandum of understanding in which the union permits us up to one year in which to make exceptions to normal practices in each individual case before we are required to declare that this hard-core special trainee can or cannot do the work, and if so, will henceforth not be treated more liberally or considerately than any other employee.

In the meantime, the union will not enter a grievance, claiming equivalent treatment for a regular employee, nor attempt to use any special consideration given to a hard-core trainee as establishing a regular precedent.

I think the need of such a commitment is clear. We simply couldn't run our business if we had to take such elaborate steps in connection with every employee, and we couldn't make successful performers out of the hard-core employees, unless we did it for them, also.

Also, the local Equal Employment Opportunity Commissions in Washington and Baltimore cooperated by stating unequivocally in writing that they would not regard such special standards and considerations as establishing precedents which must be applied across the board to any applicant for employment.

So far also, there has been good acceptance of this effort, and approach by other employees with whom the hard-core group is working side by side. Our plan is that we will continue this effort as a part of the new National Alliance of Businessmen program. And with the extra training that that program provides for or can provide, I think our program may be even more successful.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you.

I am going to move as rapidly as possible with these questions, because they are excellent, indeed.

Mr. Howard, let's start with you. They are interested in your Outreach program that was so well described in the film, but the question is: Inasmuch as your program provides no training allowances, how is it that you have reached the hard-core unemployed and

are you really reaching the gang members who have juvenile criminal records or police records?

MR. HOWARD: I think the answer to that is a little bit complex. First of all, let's take training allowances. Right now, you know, I see there is considerable thought to the effect of the benefits and advantages and disadvantages of training allowances. Up to this point, OIC in Philadelphia has been operational better than three years now. We have operated our program without training allowances of any sort. Our concept in and our philosophy is one of self-help, and the basic motivation concerning the potential of participation in OIC program for vocational training is that concept of self-help. We feel that concept is strengthened when training allowances are not really part of the motivation or incentive for participation.

Somebody might ask, first of all, well, can you reach the hard core without training allowances?

And I would say that we can—and we have. Not perhaps to the fullest degree and not that we are satisfied with the degree to which we have reached the hard core. I think that the definition of hard core is something that fluctuates quite widely, and the range would be probably very different, depending on whom you are talking to.

I think that we have reached hard core and that we are not content with the fact that even though we have reached hard core, we realize quite clearly that we have only just scratched the surface in OIC. For example, in terms of youth, let me jump over for a moment to your question concerning the teen-age gangs, for example.

By and large, we went into a slight problem here, only because our program and our target population is primarily adults, 18 years of age, or older, and many of the youth gangs, for example, are consisting of individuals who are considerably younger.

One of the reasons for this is that OIC is not intended as a competition against the school system, and that, in a real sense, would become exactly what would happen.

Many of our teen-age gangs, for example, are very, very discontent with school and are looking for potential alternatives to it, and if, for example, OIC is available to people as early as 14, 15, 16 years of age, it is, in a sense, an incentive to dropping out of school, which is contrary to the kinds of needs and objectives that OIC has established.

One of the things we attempt to build into our ongoing vocational training program is the opportunity for what is known as GED programs, which is a high school equivalency diploma, while they are in training. So our concept is ideally to encourage as many people as possible to remain in school.

As a result of this, our focus for attention, as a target population, begins at 18 years of age or older, usually. I think we are reaching people in that bracket

18 to 20. I would say our present group of OIC trainees have approximately 25 per cent in the 18-to-20 age bracket. Another 35 per cent are in the age bracket of 21 to 30. We are, therefore, reaching the youth. We are reaching younger adults as well as older adults.

Are they hard core? Well, that is a difficult question. What do you mean by hard core? The standard or criterion that is used by OIC in defining hard core would include some of the following ingredients, and I would presume, by the way, that many of these criteria or standards have been established by some of the sources of funding for the OIC programs, such as the Department of Labor, etc.

It would include, first of all, people who are basically functioning below an eighth-grade level of education. Their educational achievement has not reached an eighth-grade level, which is usually defined as adult basic education or functioning in that area. It would include people who are or who have been out of work or unemployed for 26 consecutive weeks or longer. It would include people whose annual income does not exceed \$3600, if they are the head of a household, or \$2300, if they are not the head of a household, but simply a part of the household. By these standards and criteria, we are, in fact, reaching hard core, but I was talking to Mary Richardson a moment ago here, and her definition of hard core is much more severe and quite accurate. We are scratching the surface really, and we are conscious of this, and are continuing to build new ways and new approaches for reaching even further into the hard core.

If you are talking about the winos, the drug addicts—we have people who are in those categories in OIC. We have people with criminal records, but the number or the percentage of people that we are reaching that fit into those kinds of criteria is really very small in proportion to the total number of people who would be defined or which are defined in those kinds of categories.

Let me say one other thing about training allowances and stipends. One of the things that we found is that in many instances, a training allowance is a blessing as well as a disadvantage. Many times you will find that if a blanket program or policy of training allowances is offered, the motivation for participation becomes the money that is being provided on a weekly basis, rather than the job, which is really the focal point of OIC training. We don't have time and are not in the business of just training people for the sake of training. That is fruitless and a meaningless activity. We are training people for jobs, and jobs constitute the motivation for participation in our program. Training allowances are necessary in many instances, because we have individuals who cannot make it without a training allowance.

So, in these instances, many times we will either refer them to programs that do offer training allowances or we will set up alternatives to training allowances.

And in OIC's conception of self-help, there are some realistic alternatives to training allowances, such as OJT, which is on-the-job training, where you can, for example, develop, through a staff of job development people, who are employed full time in OIC—you can develop outlets in industry, for example, where an individual can go into job training, and can receive money which will be paid him while he is actually in his training for the job for which he is making application.

Another alternative is simply stop-gap employment, which is really a very small-scale, immediate job placement, that is meant thus really as a means of supplementing immediate financial problems that might be encountered by the trainees, whom we are privileged to serve. And in this situation, what you are talking about really is a kind of tiding or a holding job that can provide some source of income while the individual is continuing his training in OIC.

I think these are just two alternatives to a training stipend *per se*, and I don't mean to imply that we have definitely concluded that a training stipend is not desirable. I think we have found, however, that it is not the essential ingredient for the participation of hard-core unemployed.

So, what is far more important than, for example, a training stipend, is the methods and techniques that your agency employs in order to reach and to take the message, because the real problem in terms of involving the hard core is not a question of money. It is really a question of bridging a very vast and a very huge communications gap that exists between industry and the Establishment, if you want, and the people living in ghetto neighborhoods. And I think that what is far more important and significant for getting the participation of hard core is some means and some techniques that can effectively break that communications gap. That is far more important, to my mind, than a training stipend *per se*.

MR. BOOTH: One more question, Mr. Howard. How many people have you placed in jobs in the three years of your operation and about what is the average cost of training each placement?

MR. HOWARD: I don't have the most accurate figures. I can tell you the last that I have here on it, and it is not official from my point of view, because I didn't really bring that information, but the last time we were talking about the total number of job placements that have been successfully made as a result of OIC training, 4000 were successfully trained and placed on jobs as a result of OIC's efforts. And this really is not even the full picture, because it only represents the number of people who, at a point in time, when our organization was capable of mustering a sufficient follow-up effort and at the point in time when we came to realize that follow-up was a mandatory requirement of our kind of program, we were able to re-establish contact with people who were placed.

My estimate really is that the number of people who have been trained and placed in employment would be even larger than that over that period of time. I think that 4000 people being trained and employed in jobs is a sufficient record, even if it were the sole and total picture. You had a second dimension to that question that I might have missed.

MR. BOOTH: The average cost of training each applicant.

MR. HOWARD: The average cost, again I don't remember, and I believe that we are talking about between five and six hundred dollars per trainee.

If I can digress for a moment, I think there might be, if there is need for that specific information, a gentleman in the audience from OIC, who can answer that question, Mr. Elmer Young, who is Executive Assistant to the Director, and ask him if he has an actual figure.

MR. YOUNG: Yes. First, rather than 4000, the figure, as of December 31, 1967, was 4700 that have been placed in productive employment—adding something like \$8 million a year to the economy of the Delaware Valley. And a third of our trainees, as Mr. Howard said, were on relief, and because of their now having productive employment, it is saving the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania over a million and a half dollars a year that would have gone out to them in the form of relief checks.

As to the question of training costs, the average cost now is less than \$1000 per trainee. That is taking him from the street to the job. That is the newest figure.

MR. HOWARD: Nothing like having a back-up resource to present the evidence.

MR. BOOTH: What is the level, Mr. Henry, of education of the youth in your program?

MR. HENRY: The average is a tenth-grade education. The average participant has a tenth-grade education. We have a few high-school graduates.

MR. BOOTH: This questioner says: Do I understand you to say—you work primarily with gang-oriented youth? If you do, what kind of local probationary guidance, if any, is available to these youngsters?

MR. HENRY: If you mean by local probationary guidance, there are a number of youth service agencies in the City of Chicago. We are working with approximately 40 of them, who provide supportive services for the youth in the various communities. Most of these are community-based operations, although they may be citywide, but they focus on various communities throughout the city.

The primary organization would be the Illinois Youth Commission. Most of their participants are on probation or on parole—so that they have a pretty close control over them at that point.

The city itself provides a commission on youth welfare, which deals with any youth who is in trouble with the law or not.

MR. BOOTH: This next question, Mr. Henry, asks for a little more of the understanding of the gang member. It says: What are his personal problems that require job coaching for six months or a year? What does the job coach do for him?

MR. HENRY: First, I think perhaps I should give some background on the gang-oriented youth—we are talking about the hard core, as he is commonly called. We are talking about a young man or young woman between the ages of 15 and 21. We have them on both ends of that scale. They average out about 17 or maybe 18 years of age. They may or may not live at home with their parents. Those that are living with their parents—there is very little communication between the adult and the youth. Most of this communication is with his peer group. If he is not living at home with his parents, he may be out in the street, looking for a place to stay, here today, gone tomorrow. He may be staying in bus stations, he may be living with another friend who is living with his parents. They don't know that the fellow is there. His meals—he doesn't know where they are coming from. He reacts under pressure, mostly hostile or out of fear. He is afraid of the Establishment. He has been led, misled by the various organizations who want to do good, various organizations who want to exploit him. He is gaining a sophistication about those who want to exploit him. He is beginning to realize that the gang is his way of being recognized. He is not a high-school graduate. He doesn't have the same things to back him up as the high-school graduate. He has to have some type of recognition, as all of us do.

The gang is it. He can elevate himself through his efforts in the gang. He exhibits a certain pride in himself and in his organization, whether you like it or not.

He has been told by various agencies—such as YMCA, Youth Centers, Boys Clubs—that if he does certain things, he can expect certain results. He has been disappointed, disillusioned. The gang offers him not only the prestige, but he also gets spending money through illegal activities. That youth feels that the world owes him something that he has been deprived of, that the adult world doesn't offer anything, that he has to take what he wants.

The coach's job—his role is to alleviate some of the pressures that come from the rigors of employment. Employment means regimentation. We are talking about a youth that could not stand the regimentation of even attending school. He dropped out. The school had nothing to offer him. What more can a job offer him?

Money? He gets that through his activities in the gang. He has a police record.

I think I had better explain that police record—because it ranges from curfew violations to murder. The majority of the participants who come to our program have six or seven arrests—loitering, curfew violation, purchase of liquor by a minor. These are the majority of the arrests. These constitute 81 per cent of the arrest records of kids from the inner city. They are not serious as such, but they are police records. When he goes to apply for a job, he has a police record.

Loitering means he didn't get off the corner fast enough for the police officer—so he took him down. There are some serious crimes—have no doubts about that. Armed robbery, rape, attempted rape, strong-arm robbery—they are there. But the things that caused these would take a sociologist, which I am not, to detail. But the coach's role is to give this man a motivation that will make him ready to accept his responsibility as an employee, to work with him from the time he is employed until he becomes a regularly productive employee, until the point where we feel he no longer needs the back up of Jobs Now, and the coach. The coach initially takes him to work, shows him the way to get there—if necessary, helps him to fill out the application.

We at one time wanted to sit in on the actual interview, but we decided at this point, he is on his own. But only for that period that he is going through the interview.

We get with him after the interview to find out what happened, when does he start work, what equipment does he need? We talk with the parents, solicit their help in getting him up the next morning, or whenever he has to go to work. We work with the line supervisors, personnel office, or the man that is working next to him, in getting him to understand the participant, and getting him to change his views.

We work in getting the participant to change his views about business and industry, to accommodate business and industry. We find that the accommodation has to be on both sides. And a young man going into the world of work—these are not their first jobs. They have had numerous jobs—they may have lasted a week to three months—but it is a different situation, different people. If he is made to feel welcome to that job, the chances of his retaining that job are much greater than if we were taking him in as any other employee. And this is the point we get across with the coach, that there have to be certain follow-up procedures, not only by Jobs Now coaching staff, but by the personnel he is working with.

If they accept him—if it is no more than showing him where the washroom is—this is needed, if you want him to become a productive employee and remain with your company.

We work with the participants on a weekly basis. If he is able to make it to work on time, without any problem, we see him once a week, on the job once a week. This is also done in his home community. As he

becomes more acclimated to the job, we lessen our contact. For the first several weeks, we are contacting him at least once a week. If he is progressing well at that point, we make it once every two weeks, but we are constantly in touch with the personnel office, or with the line supervisors. We are asking the employer that, if the participant is late, we want to be called. Call the coach, so that he can find out why—and correct the situation. It may be that he woke up late. It may be that he doesn't take the right route to work. We want to get to him and find out what it is.

If he misses a day, don't wait and call us two days later—call us that same day, so we can get to him and we will get back to you that same day as to why.

Many of the participants will not call in. They wake up late and decide not to come in—embarrassed, because this is what you expect of them, to come in late, and/or not come in at all.

Their rationale is, "I will stay away from the station". It is an embarrassment. It is their way of coping with it, not to go in—not to face it.

These young people need understanding and help. We try to give it from our end, and we are pretty good in working with young people. We are still learning about business and industry. We are asking your cooperation in dealing with it also, that the help we provide is only partial, that unless it comes from both sides, we will never lick the problem.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you, Mr. Henry. That is very helpful.

Mr. Howard, do you want to add something?

MR. HOWARD: Yes, I have a couple of things I would like to add to that. Some of my concerns, I think, are generated out of the fact that I think many of the kinds of information that most of our audience was looking for, particularly in yesterday's session, was some kind of specific thing that could be applied and fit into any type of program that is geared toward hard-core employment, and I think that many things that Mr. Henry has mentioned is quite necessary and quite effective.

I would like to make two additions to what he is saying. One of the concerns of any program that is initiated by industry—that is geared toward the hard-core—is job retention. Are they going to stay on the job? Let me say, first of all, a lot of times we approach the situation of hard core unemployed with the idea and with certain fixed ideas about what the hard core is, and what we can expect from them. And you kind of get into a self-fulfilling prophecy, where you expect them not to come in and you act as though they will not come in and will not be reliable. And, sure enough, they begin not to come in, and not show up, and live up to your expectations and reactions.

Let me go one step further. If you are talking about hard-core unemployed, I think it is extremely

essential not to sell them short. When I say that, I mean it is preposterous to assume that simply by creating a deadend job, which offers very limited income, that offers no opportunity for growth or movement, that you are going to retain anybody. You wouldn't stay at a job, I am sure, if you felt this was it—you can't go any further than that—can't make much more money—and there is no promotional opportunity.

I think one of the important ingredients that should be built into any program that is geared to hard core is a recognition that they are also looking for a growth potential. They are looking for something that they perhaps can invest in—that has some security. This has his future in it. And all I am suggesting is that there are very, very simple ways of building from an entry-level job type of situation, certain stepping stones, that is going to lead to potential promotions, that will lead to a higher income, that will lead to a higher status, in terms of recognition, and respect that the individual has on the job. And I think it is essential for you in considering possible programs that are geared for the hard core to build those in.

It is not sufficient and it is totally inaccurate to assume that because a person is not working at all and has never really had a job, that his expectation in terms of income is necessarily any lower—so drastically lower than anybody else. They are also looking for the chance to earn six, seven, eight, nine thousand dollars a year, ultimately. I don't think that is very much in terms of money, and I think, if you build certain programs that are geared to the hard core, with this in mind, build in a job ladder—build in a possibility for promotion, and a possibility where you can take those individuals who show exceptional talents and exceptional leadership ability, and recognize it, so they can get some kind of feeling of reward, and some feeling of security in the job, you will find retention is much greater.

One final point—and that is in terms of job coaches—one of the things that Brother Henry did not mention, and I think he will hit on this before we finish this morning, who should be job coaches? I think it is incorrect that you should assume that you go out and hire professional, middle-class social workers, teachers, educators, to do this kind of function.

I am not saying that they cannot do it. I am saying that probably you will find greater success if you look to and use paraprofessionals—you use individuals who don't necessarily have college degrees, but have the Ph.D. from the streets, who, if you use people who come from the target groups, you are trying to use in these various programs, and if you balance these paraprofessionals with a limited course from professionals, who could provide on-going support, supervision and training to your paraprofessional job coaches.

The same is true in recruitment. If we recruit for OIC, we will not hire social workers. We will hire individuals out of the communities that we are trying to

reach. These are the people who understand what is happening. They can talk in the language of the people that you are trying to reach. That really is one of the most effective things that you can do to cut through the communications gap—the kind of people who are most likely for a gang member to relate to is not someone who is 'way up here and the gang member is 'way down here, but somebody who is pretty much at the same level, and can talk straight talk to them.

A lot of times you will find that there is a tendency to use evasion. There is a tendency to use the rationale. There is a tendency to use shabby excuses for why you should not do certain things. The hard core will give us all kinds of ridiculous excuses for what they feel—why they should not participate in our kind of program—but there "ain't" no such thing when I come with a recruiter. There is no such thing as you are not going to participate. Of course, you will. You have no choice.

There is no argument that you can tell any recruiter that will be sufficient to say why you can't, in fact, participate. And I think you need to think more in terms of utilizing paraprofessional people who can deal with the hard core in terms of recruitment, in terms of job coaching, and a number of other aspects of the entire cycle that you are talking about.

Even with teaching and instruction, I would say, take some of the workers who are doing the kinds of jobs that you are training hard core people for and use them as a focal point for training as opposed to necessarily always using that structured professional, college degree, Ph.D., to do the training—because you need people who can break through that communications gap. And one way of doing it quite effectively is using people that are actually more in tune with the needs, the problems, the attitudes, the language, the realities of the people we are talking about, that we are trying to reach.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you, Mr. Howard.

This grows out of what Mr. Henry started talking about in answer to my question, and I would like to ask the employer members of the panel, first, and then Mr. Henry and Mr. Howard: How have you dealt with prison records? Mr. Henry talked about men having been charged with certain things, but he also talked about there being real police and prison records to deal with. How do you deal with them? Mr. Dyer.

MR. DYER: The convictions that we have run into most frequently, have been for larceny and assault. The group of men, young boys who have had these records, that came to us from CEP, are quite young, and in all cases we have had those who have not been in prison, been convicted and put on probation, or things of that nature.

MR. BOOTH: Mr. Windsor.

MR. WINDSOR: That is a very difficult question to answer because of the type of business we are in. We

are 100-per-cent military contractor in the City of St. Louis in our plant there, and we are involved in security problems.

I could say this, that, basically, over the years, we have taken a liberal attitude toward the individual who has been convicted, but not of an act of aggression, or bodily harm type of situation. I think, unfortunately, this is like a lot of things. We have a tendency—everything has to be categorized and put into a certain compartment. We would like to go with the individual interview type of situation and look at the patterns.

Very frequently, you find somebody who had done something back in 1935, and led a pretty clean life ever since. We don't think that will give us a problem when we go to the military for security clearance, nor do we feel that that individual has followed a pattern of crime during his life.

MR. BOOTH: Do you gentlemen, from the standpoint of recruiting and coaching, agree this is a good approach? Do you have something to add?

MR. HOWARD: Let me just suggest one thing. OIC is established on the premise that is basically opposed to screening people out. Our conscious premise is to screen everybody in.

What that means is that, very frequently—you know a criminal record, for example—particularly at the point of recruitment, is totally superfluous—because our program is structured to individual needs as well as well as somebody that has been clean all his life.

So at the point of recruitment, you know, the question is not broached. It is not even raised. When they come into vocational training in OIC, once again, it is not a screening-out process. And consequently, one of the things that we find is usually individuals have a way of concealing their criminal record, or any kind of incarceration that may have occurred in the past, so I say, it is even difficult for us to assess the number of people who have had criminal records, except to say that, based on the type of individuals in terms of the characteristics that they reveal, I mean now the statistics, how much school did they get, where they are living, income levels, etc. You could rest pretty well assured that a good percentage, or a fair number, of OIC trainees have had criminal records. But I think in our situation, it is, basically, a process of screening people in and our building is really upon that particular block.

Now again, the attitude of industry, once they go for jobs, is something that varies, and it has not posed much of a problem for OIC graduates.

MR. HENRY: We have a slightly different approach to the problem. Because of our relationship with the police department in Chicago, two of our staff have been trained to go through their records, so that we have the police records of each participant that comes to the program.

We then ask the employer which type of records he will accept. And we don't send them the type that he will not accept. This avoids the embarrassment of the youngster or young adult, when he goes in, that he is rejected for that police record.

Another reason is that the participants themselves have been known to go on a job interview and tell our staff that they don't have a police record, and then make a true confession once they get to the employer and explain all of the various records that they have—mostly they are juvenile, which are not recorded, and are not for public view. So that we try to avoid this—and it has helped that we noted only that he had a juvenile record and we can counsel them to this point.

MR. BOOTH: Very good. Thank you.

Mr. Dyer, do you believe the one-year special consideration agreement with the unions is long enough? Will you lose employees as a consequence of its enforcement?

MR. DYER: This program we are involved in has not been in effect for a year as yet, so we haven't gone beyond that date in any case. I expect there may be some cases where it might be not long enough, but very few.

Just to give you an example, it doesn't take us a year to find out what a person can learn to do in a job, whether he can or cannot do it. But, for example, we have one girl now who is being trained to be an information operator. The normal training period to be an information operator is four and a half days. We have given this girl 30 days of training, and she still can't be an information operator. At this point we recognize the fact that she won't ever be able to learn that.

We are now going to put her in another job—a non-operating job—try to train her for that. That may take a period of time. I can't tell you at this point whether we come out with this girl, so she will be able to do a job successfully, or not. We certainly hope so. We will give her every opportunity. But there will be cases in which we will have to dismiss people, simply because they can't do it. I hope very few of these happen.

MR. BOOTH: That answers the part of the question, will you lose employees as a consequence of its enforcement?

MR. DYER: You see, mainly the problem involved with the union is not this training process that I talk about, but rather the special considerations in discipline. Or handling on the job. Girls come to us and, because they have problems at home with children, in many cases illegitimate children, they can't work certain hours. Therefore, they can't—the seniority applications of the union contract do not apply to them. If we don't give them a job at least for the first year until they can begin to get an income—they can come when they can or the CEP program can arrange child care for them, they

just won't have this opportunity at all. And so we, therefore, move them into the hours that they can work, during this first year.

The union agreement is concerned with problems of seniority, and relative treatment of discipline cases, where we will give extra consideration and extra attention to the needs of the hard core that we employ, despite the fact that this will put them in a position of taking precedence under seniority agreements, and that sort of thing, away from union members who are regular employees.

MR. BOOTH: Mr. Dyer, will you forecast the percentage of hard core employees who will make it after one year of a transitional period, compared to the normal percentage of work force? Are current indicators encouraging or discouraging?

MR. DYER: I would say that, based on the experience that we have had with people on the program up to six months or maybe a little less, that the retention factor is as good or better as it is elsewhere. I believe that one of the factors in this is that the hard core employee knows that he can't go out quite so easily as the person who qualifies at the employment office, and get another job. He knows that we want him. We spend a considerable period of time with him. In fact, a week after we get them from the CEP, from their orientation program, we give them our own orientation course in such things as personal hygiene and health and telephone usage, and attitudes on the job. And the big thing in this attitude on the job that you have to get across—and we do, I think, get across—is we want you to become a successful employee of the telephone company. This is quite a revelation to many of the people.

We found that the response they ran into previously is that they are not wanted. This makes all the difference in the world in terms of the effect on their own motivation.

MR. BOOTH: Mr. Windsor, is the lack of adequate mass transportation in ghetto areas a significant factor in the unemployment problem? If so, how do you meet it, or what improvements would you recommend?

MR. WINDSOR: This question has come up in the City of St. Louis a number of times and the fact of the matter is that yesterday I had the opportunity to review a study of the Negro in the aerospace industry by Dr. Northrup out of the Wharton School of Business, and he mentions this, too.

The experts seem to think that this is a problem. Now, again, we are speaking of statistics, and we find that we have in our organization a share-the-ride type situation—and if you have a nucleus of a group of individuals in, shall I say, the ghetto area, they have a tendency to seem to get together and get to work. It depends on the value that you are dealing with. We

were dealing with large numbers of people. I don't think it is as big a problem as publicized. There were experts from FORTUNE magazine that came to St. Louis, and had quite an expertise on this, too.

I do know that there are some federal funds being made available for this purpose, because our facilities are 17 miles from downtown St. Louis; however, I am sure, like a lot of problems, it is a problem. How big a problem, I don't know—I don't think it is as big as the experts have it.

MR. BOOTH: Mr. Henry, you mentioned you help the gang youth with transportation. Would you explain what the problem is and how you meet it?

MR. HENRY: We have an orientation, which consists of transportation. Many of the youth who are in the program cannot find their way around Chicago. They are confined to their own immediate area, which may be four, six, eight blocks. We have youths and adults in the City of Chicago that have never seen Lake Michigan. So there has to be an orientation to the modes and means of transportation within the city. Most of our jobs are in the suburban areas, and very far out. So we have to find some method of teaching them to move within the city itself before they would venture out into the suburbs and suburban areas.

Transportation is a problem. It is a problem for anyone, especially in a large metropolitan area. We devised several training exercises where a participant is given a total of 60 cents, which will guarantee him round-trip fare. Before this, he is oriented on a city map provided by the city transportation authority, showing the various routes by both subway and surface transportation. When the instructor feels he is ready, he gives him 60 cents and the name of one of the institutions in the city. There are two routes. He takes one route and comes back by another.

When he arrives there, he meets another of the trainees, who went on the other route. We find that this also builds confidence in being able to do something on his own.

We can take them to work. The first two or three days we do that, but we do not have the staff to make this a continuous practice.

We have even looked into bussing, providing buses, with the cooperation of the employer. If we can get enough participants there working on a particular job, would they be willing on an experimental basis to provide a bus that would come into the inner city and take them back and forth?

It is not as hard to get them to go along with this program as you might think, because most of their employees have trouble getting to and from work. This causes turnover, even with the regular employees.

MR. BOOTH: Chicago transportation has always puzzled me, so I would like to come out and take some of your coaching one of these days.

Mr. Howard—Is it possible that hard-core hiring can cause problems and difficulties for presently employed black employees, black persons? What should we do to prepare for this? I take it this is from the stand of the employer.

MR. HOWARD: Institute in your businesses a course in black history, so that the workers who work for you can understand the problem of the other brothers.

I don't really think that is a significant problem—or that it would create a significant problem. I think that one of the things that should precede a program that is seriously geared toward the hard core is some type of employee training that is geared to the entire employees of your particular organization. And I say that because it becomes extremely necessary that in a sense they become attuned to top management's thoughts and thinking concerning a particular program. It is the kind of problem top management might understand quite clearly—the objectives, the goals, the purposes, the worthiness of particular programs, such as a hard-core training program, or some kind of involvement of the hard-core—but if that is not disseminated down the line to the rank-and-file worker, who is going to be working perhaps side by side with this hard core, I think it is going to potentially create problems, only because of the lack of understanding, the lack of conviction that this is, in fact, absolutely the policy of your particular company, in that it is not a question of, you know, maybe we will make this work, or maybe we won't. I think it is very important, then, to institute some type of employee relations in terms of information to the other members of your particular company, perhaps even desirable, involving them at all levels in certain stages, or in certain activities, that can help to facilitate the success of a hard-core oriented program.

I would say that other than some type of orientation or training for your present employees, that probably would suffice and, if you can get them in the same spirit, you may initiate a program by which they can begin to perceive the same sense of urgency and problem that is associated with the employment problems of hard core. And if they can, in some way, be made empathetic to the kinds of problems and attitudes and needs that hard-core employees would have, I think it would probably overcome this situation. I don't think it is an outrageous idea at all to institute courses in Negro history, or minority history, to insure that some of the necessary attitudes are developed, although I think really society is almost building that in.

If you were speaking about other employees, I think people are becoming much more conscious—particularly if you are talking about other Negro employees or other non-white employees—they are becoming extremely conscious of a kind of identification with those that have not made it. But

I think employee relations, some kind of orientation and training would be one answer to that possibility.

MR. BOOTH: Very good. Thank you.

Mr. Windsor, how can first-line supervision be induced to accept and continue fully in aiding the satisfactory employment of the hard-core unemployed, that we are talking about?

MR. WINDSOR: I think this is a subject that probably has received increased attention recently and certainly under some programs, there is a lot of publicity to the effect that this is one of the things you will have to do, and do it very quickly.

In our particular company, we have had a pre-employment, presupervisory training program, before we appoint first-line supervision.

At other levels we have had training programs in management development, if I may use that terminology. This is on other levels of supervision up the line.

However, at the time that Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, we put on a special program for 3500 supervisors, which was a two-hour program. And we took them into the entire history of the civil rights laws, from the signing of the Declaration, all the way through the present time.

We found our supervisors were pretty receptive to this thing. The policy was very clearly delineated on down, and we didn't have any trouble with it. They knew what the law was. If they wanted to stay in that job, that was one of the expectations of them by management.

MR. BOOTH: In addition to relaxing industry standards, did you also relax on-the-job standards, such as work performance, tardiness, absenteeism, garnishments, and so forth? If so, what is the reaction of your unions and your older employees?

MR. WINDSOR: I don't think there is an easy way to answer that question. Yes, we did. It is one of these things you have to take on a case-by-case basis. We have had very little friction between the white and Negro groups on what you might call a double standard, although it has occurred on occasion, and we feel it has been very minor, and you can handle it on a day-by-day basis.

MR. BOOTH: Mr. Dyer, it says there is constant discussion of hard core and other unemployment, yet the newspapers list columns of job vacancies. Why can't they get together?

MR. DYER: That is, of course, the major objective of the program Mr. Humphrey was describing last evening. They ought to be put together. The objective of the NAB program that we are supporting wholeheartedly

in Washington, Baltimore and Norfolk, is to put them together, so the jobs available are filled by people willing to take those jobs.

MR. BOOTH: One more question to Mr. Henry and Mr. Howard. Mr. Howard, this says—Stewart Alsop in a recent article in THE SATURDAY EVENING POST referred to what was called the psychologically unemployed. These were people who were singled out by a former leader of Pride as being the real problem. What is your view on this phenomenon?

MR. HOWARD: Well, I wish I had read Mr. Alsop's article, so I could know what the meaning is he puts on "psychologically unemployed" or unemployable. I think that in OIC, for example, in Philadelphia, when our programs were started, many people considered that the target group that our program was specifically geared to reach was, in fact, the unreachables, and the unemployables.

And let me just say that I am thoroughly convinced there is absolute genius in the ghettos—no question about it. And what has to happen is to find constructive outlets for releasing and tapping that potential—that genius is really there. Most people have very fixed ideas about hard-core people, and what their capabilities are. And I think that we tend—when I say "we," I mean basically middle-class society tends to put into a box, and a very narrow box, I might add, what those capabilities are and what those potentialities are, and the psychological attitudes that obtain.

Let's say that when you are talking about psychological attitudes, attitudes can be changed, as well as well as behavior. As a matter of fact, I don't think behavior will be changed significantly unless attitudes are first changed. And I have yet to find an individual, for example, who is incapable of being put into a program where he sees genuine opportunity and a genuine promise for himself, something that strikes home to him.

This means me—not that other person, that other guy—that is going to be genuinely affected and genuinely improved, as a result of that particular program or that particular effort.

So that my basic feeling is that there may, in fact, be a small nucleus of people who have, because of some perfectly legitimate reasons and because of their own background and circumstances, moved, in a sense, to the far end, in the sense of completely rejecting any possibilities of this society being meaningful for them. I think that is a supremely small proportion of people, and I think that there may be more people, even in black communities, for example, who pay lip service to that idea, but who, in fact, don't believe it themselves, because in the very real sense, I think that all the people in ghetto neighborhoods are really looking for a legitimate and a genuine opportunity to participate.

They will be the first to say and the first to condemn whitey, and they will be the first to flare up against the system, but, frequently, that may be a rationale, because there is a situation where they have not been able to find any real outlets that have enabled them. So that when people say that, you know, that things are improving in the country—by and large, the reality is that, as far as my people are concerned, they have improved—people like me, maybe, who has been through college. I am middle class. I can take advantage of many of the civil rights legislation and acts and laws that have come about—or Brother Henry or some of the other people on our panels. But what about that hard-core guy? Here is a guy that—basically no laws, very little legislation, very little in the way of programs have really been directed at meeting his needs.

Make no mistake, that is the huge, overwhelming majority of the black people, black America. So what that means is that, if you come through with programs that genuinely meet the needs of that group of people, programs that are not shams, programs that are not games, programs that are serious in terms of genuinely involving them, I think you will find that that psychological attitude or aversion to society or to participation is basically a myth—and really I believe it is a myth.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you, Mr. Howard. How can we, Mr. Henry, motivate the young Negro drop-out to enter the vocational training schools which are available, after completion of which a job is practically guaranteed?

MR. HENRY: That is a difficult thing, because we are not now lumping everyone together. Motivation is an individual thing. Whereas I may be motivated by a higher salary, the next guy may be motivated by the type of work he is doing, or the people he is working with. The vocational training has to offer something first, and that is the basis for having a job. Now, OIC, and everything else. If the school system had offered something in the beginning, these jobs would be available. It is you know, what the schools offer to the young person in the way of a job. And vocational training, I think that is an easy way out for many of us, in that we feel a person that instead of having higher aspirations to go on to a trade school and learn a trade, should go out and get a job.

We have to make another change. Most of the trade jobs aren't available to young Negroes, so that there will have to be a number of things that change prior to any young Negro accepting this as a motivating factor.

MR. BOOTH: Thank you, Mr. Henry.

MR. HOWARD: One nice thing is that all the things that Mr. Henry has mentioned are absolutely neces-

sary. I would say there is one other ingredient—that is how you attempt to reach the people whom you are trying to attract. The first step of motivation is really communicating in some way that involves the total population, and I think, if there is any one lesson or any one single message that I can leave with you, it will be this. If you rely on the conventional means of communicating what any specific program has to offer for hard-core people, you are not going to attract a large number of people, because radio, television, newspapers is not enough.

You need a message that can be transmitted one to one, face to face—where there is not going to be a possibility of slipping and sliding around, why I shouldn't participate, for example—because of all the reasons and all the normal reactions. We are talking about people who have had extremely poor experiences in any kind of learning situation, and certainly are not anxious to go back into it, even though they recognize more clearly than you do the need for training and education. It is just like, you know—if you talk about a test to a hard-core person, they are ready to go the other way, because that is something they are afraid of. And they are not going to be willing to jump into that situation without some direct face-to-face kind of counseling.

I think that is one of the essential reasons why all programs, geared to hard-core, need to build in as part of the necessary resources for that program certain techniques that are designed for outreach recruitment—techniques that are going to enable potentially indigent community persons themselves do that recruitment for you.

I don't see any other way that you will meaningfully involve people that you want, without building this in—building in this outreach recruitment. That is why it is important.

MR. BOOTH: Here are two questions I believe I can answer. How can we get the film that we saw a little while ago?

If you will just write to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, we will see to it that it gets into the proper hands.

The second question is: Will a copy of these papers be available? The answer is: Yes.

The complete PROCEEDINGS of this day-and-a-half workshop will be mailed to each person who registered.

I want to thank those who were on the program yesterday and today for their helpful cooperation and contributions to a better understanding of this problem. I am especially grateful to these gentlemen this morning as well.

I don't know how you feel, but I feel better about America's future after I listened to these people.

APPENDIX

Some Contributing Factors to Urban Unrest

by
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Using different research techniques, over the past year I've learned much about a fairly large number of people in predominantly Negro slum neighborhoods in 15 of our largest cities. How they feel about their living conditions! What their thoughts are! During this same period I have examined considerable data concerning many of the aspects of life of such people in our 100 largest central cities. These inquiries were conducted before, during and shortly after the violence which occurred in the summer of 1967. The studies were designed to find answers to the following questions:

1. What were the immediate and underlying causes of the summer's violence in 1967?
2. Will violence occur in 1968 and after, and are such outbursts likely to be different in character from those of last year?
3. Finally, can steps be taken now, short of law enforcement intervention, to prevent new outbursts and contribute, at the same time, to bringing about needed changes in the social fabric which will improve the quality of life for all Americans?

I would like first to describe the tentative answers we have found to these questions and to explain the basis for supporting them.

1. The Immediate and Underlying Causes of Urban Violence

Most informed Americans are mindful of some of the urban social problems which underlie and contribute to prevailing urban tensions and which exacerbate race relations. Such problems include inadequate housing supply, poor employment opportunities, lack of governmental planning encompassing adequate representation and active participation of the poor, failure to sustain communications between people, government, and business leadership, mediocre public protective services in poor neighborhoods, poorly conceived spending

priorities to ameliorate social problems and an unsympathetic attitude on the part of the white community towards racial equality of opportunity and racial justice. I view these underlying problems, however, as small building units which form complex configurations of underlying causes of urban tensions. Personally, I do not view any one or combination of these underlying factors as directly contributing to the violence of the past summer.

In looking for the proximate or immediate cause of urban violence I tried to identify significant factors which, given a particular triggering incident — like the shooting by a policeman of an unarmed teen-ager or the arbitrary and capricious "roughing up" of a group of youngsters — permit a single, localized incident to escalate into sustained and horrifying pitched battles between ordinary black citizens and an "army of occupation" requiring the presence and repressive techniques of local and state police, the National Guard, the U. S. Army and armed white vigilantes.

Initially, I identified 17 "indicators" for potential urban violence. The data were sketchy and incomplete but these indicators seemed somehow to combine into a "critical mass" finding expression in an outburst of violence. The kinds of data required were not officially recorded in governmental documents. They had to be directly acquired through lengthy and repeated interviews with ordinary citizens and, on occasion, through informal discussions with informal public officials and business leaders. Newspaper articles, personal and field research staff observations supplemented direct interviews. The data are still very imperfect and the state of the art describing and analyzing how the indicators combine to form a "critical mass" is still primitive and impressionistic. It is my feeling, however, that very little public attention has been given to urban social phenomena and conditions represented by these indicators.

In the light of more recent observations and analysis, these initial 17 indicators are seen to combine into 5 clusters. These are:

Cluster I — Predisposition to Commit Violence as a Method for Producing Social Change — This cluster comprises three indicators: First, expressions of the will to commit violent acts. Second, ex-

pressions of the will to continue violence after the intervention of law enforcement controls. Third, expressions of the will to direct violence against specific targets, such as buildings owned by slum-lords, businesses owned by neighborhood merchants who purportedly "gouge" slum people, businesses with very discriminatory hiring practices, and people, as well.

Lest there be any misunderstanding on this first cluster of indicators, the expressions of violence studied are not those articulated solely by Negroes. On the contrary observation shows that such predispositions to violence have been expressed by both Negroes and whites. It should be noted that, typically, Negro expressions of violence are directed toward targets like buildings and stores; white expressions of violence are directed toward the Negro population.

Cluster II — The Existence of Violence Readiness Factors — This cluster comprises three indicators. First, informal training centers have emerged where techniques are taught to sharpshoot, prepare different types of molotov cocktails, commit acts of vandalism, the storing of ammunition, chains, clubs and surplus army weapons, the preparation of escape routes and methods for paralyzing the water supply system. Such training centers have been in existence in major American cities since the turn of the century and were, until very recently, facilities made up predominantly of white teenagers who, in organized gangs or other groupings, perpetrated acts of vandalism against schools, places of worship, cemeteries and private homes. These training centers, in the past, I should add, served as places of recruitment for qualified young punks to enter the world of professional and organized crime. More recently, similar training centers for violence have been created in Negro neighborhoods.

The second indicator which is supportive of predispositions to violence is concerned with the illegal movement of small arms into the central city. In some cities, the scale of illegal small arms sales has attained such proportions that reliable interviewees feel that all males, teen-agers and adults, white and Negro are "armed to the teeth" and prepared for an "all-out shoot-out".

The illegal sale of small arms is quite a different matter from the acquisition of inoperative Army "surplus" weapons which require expert attention for reactivation. Such "surplus" weapons did not

play a role during the summer of 1967. Small arms, however, are purchased as new or only slightly used. They are easy to purchase and are ready to use. Prices, incidentally, range from \$10 in areas of lax controls (mostly in the south and midwest) to \$40 in areas of tight controls (mostly the north central and north east sections of the country). The suppliers of illegal small arms are white adults whose network of distribution reaches into every city in the land and whose activities are not limited to the sale of weapons.

The third indicator in the violence readiness cluster has to do with the movement of released misdemeanants and felons, both white and Negro into urban communities. The abysmal failure of the nation's prison and correctional system, its unanticipated role as a training school for more serious and sophisticated delinquencies and crime, its failure to train the offender in useful trades and to provide meaningful employment are conditions which are all fairly well known and need no elaboration here. However, released offenders tend to return to areas of the central city already tense. Thus, large numbers of persons, already predisposed to react violently to stresses in the community, contribute to and heighten existing urban tensions.

Cluster III — Expressions of Dissatisfaction with Local Government — This area comprises four indicators. First, statements to the effect that local government is generally corrupt; specific allegations that local government cooperates closely with the "establishment" — the news media and business community in preventing complete and up-to-date public awareness of the grievances of the Negro community; and assertions that local government makes very little effort to enforce local laws and ordinances thus permitting businessmen and landlords to exploit Negro residents and thwart Negro aspirations. Second, expressions of skepticism as to the validity and capability of upgrading programs such as intensified educational projects, urban renewal and job training efforts designed to substantially ameliorate conditions in the slums. Third, widespread rejection of certain upgrading programs which are viewed as half-hearted "tokenism", especially of anti-poverty programs, and of attempts by the business community to generate low-skilled, marginal jobs for the unemployed, and, fourth, expressions of general dis-

satisfaction about the dismal amount and quality of health services available in poor neighborhoods.

Cluster IV — Governmental Institutions as Breeding Grounds for Violence — This cluster comprises 2 indicators. The first is expression of dissatisfaction with the juvenile and family courts. Although the Gault decision (May 1967) intended to ameliorate the "Kangaroo Court" type of proceedings which characterize most of the nation's juvenile courts, harsh, unjust and self-defeating conditions persist. Heavy calendars, commitment of juveniles to inadequate, overcrowded and inhumane detention facilities and the apparent inability of the juvenile court system to adequately marshal the resources necessary to assist troubled youth and their families combine powerfully to stimulate a motivation to commit violence. I have heard many youths describe how, during the first hour of their commitment to a juvenile detention facility, they learn to make three different types of fuses for molotov cocktails. For a variety of reasons these courts discourage interested citizens from visiting and observing their parody of justice for juveniles. I strongly urge business leaders to visit these juvenile court and detention facilities to observe how they rapidly transform deprived, puzzled, frightened youths and children into tough, bitterly angry young adults.

The second indicator encompassed by the cluster is concerned with verbalizations by both whites and Negroes about police-community relationships. This indicator is probably the weakest of all those studied. The feelings of white urban residents about the local police involves a mixture of contempt for their solicitations of favors and gifts, their petty corruption and their failure to repress the increasing scale and militancy of Negro aspirations. The feelings of the Negro, by contrast, involve pointed hatred against the proclivity of police to arbitrarily exercise undue force and brutality and a strong feeling that many acts of police inadequacies are dictated by inept local governmental political leadership. Negro criticism which has the most sensitive value as a tension indicator focuses on complaints that police are told by corrupt local officials to overlook violations of the law perpetrated by white criminals and slum lords. Allegations of complicity between police, the underworld and officialdom are balanced by specific citation of police assistance rendered for emer-

gency, everyday situations. A trend away from favorable to disparaging statements obviously reveals a mounting of tension.

Cluster V — Economic Exploitation of the Negro Community by the White Underworld — This cluster comprises 5 factors. There are extensive underworld operations in every sizable city in the nation. The social history of crime in the United States over the past 100 years has shown, in part, a general tendency for the dominant criminal group in a city to become respectable through the investment of criminally acquired profits in legitimate enterprise; subsequently, control of their criminal operations passes into the hands of others. The forces in the American pattern of prejudice and discrimination which have prevented Negroes from moving into and up in the worlds of real estate, insurance, manufacturing, banking, union leadership, commerce and government are the same which have prevented members of the Negro underworld from moving from their low underworld position to supplant the current controllers and brokers of crime. To be sure, Negroes are employed by criminal groups and organizations but only in minor roles. The broad national movement aimed at producing changes in leadership in the legitimate socio-economic structure to accommodate Negroes has its counterpart in the underworld.

The first factor in this cluster is concerned with tensions which are generated in the on-going historical movement of Negro succession to positions of control in the underworld.

The remaining factors are specific areas of underworld activity which are, by and large, owned and operated by white criminals but which flourish in Negro neighborhoods. One of these specific areas of economic exploitation, in the sense that the lion's share of the profits move into the pockets of the white crime bosses, is the distribution and sale of stolen merchandise. The second is the distribution and sale of drugs. The third is concerned with white ownership and patronage, of houses of prostitution and allied call-girl operations. The fourth is concerned with the white domination in Negro neighborhoods of illegal fiduciary operations such as loansharking, gambling and policy games.

By way of summary these indicators reflect and measure an increasingly aggressive appeal for the redress of long standing underlying grievances.

They clearly show there exists a pervasive climate of violence in virtually every urban center of the nation. This climate of violence and the predisposition to commit acts of violence is nurtured by and in turn feeds the other tension-producing behaviors (all these are referred to as "indicators"). These behaviors result, in part, from continued white exploitation of the integrity of the Negro community through methods which, by their very nature, predispose to violence — white-dominated criminal operations, white-dominated governmental corruption, and the persistent failure of white-dominated ameliorative and protective activity such as the court system, and community or urban upgrading programs.

The 1967 outbursts of violence, I contend, were fostered primarily by this climate of violence, generally unrelated to underlying grievances — which, nevertheless served as an outlet after rather banal triggering events. White and Negro both expressed predispositions to violence, both provoked and retaliated as they promised they would. Their statements were credible and they lived up to their promises. These statements were made long in advance of the eruptions but the warnings were unheeded.

We have been hearing such warnings articulated since the eruptions subsided last Fall. We hear them every day now. Are the promises of violence for 1968 valid?

I turn now to the second question — *Will outbursts occur in 1968 and will they be different in character from those in 1967?* Very simply, the answer appears to be "yes". There will be outbursts of violence in 1968 and this year's violence will differ in scope and quality from 1967.

Nothing has changed since last year which would in any way alter the predisposition to violence — neither in the white community nor in the Negro community. There is little reason for believing that all the military hardware in our domestic arsenals will have a real impact in lessening the imminence of renewed violence. No amount of moral oratory or token gestures aimed at ameliorating racial grievances will have substantial impact in lessening the simmering potential for explosive eruptions. No amount of dialogue or dollars *by themselves* will stem the dismal tide.

Last summer's outbursts were described by the public, generally, as either "riots" or "disturbances" — terms often used interchangeably. I

think there is a very real difference between such phenomena and the violent events which occurred in previous years, usually referred to as "incidents". By "incident", I refer to a very short-lived outburst of violence which takes place in an extremely limited area and involves, often, many onlookers but relatively few participants. By "disturbance", I refer to an outburst of violence which is sustained over many hours or days, covering a fairly large geographic area, ultimately involving large numbers of participants who, initially are attracted to the scene of violence as onlookers and, then, tend to become participants. A "riot", from the standpoint of violence, may achieve the level of either an incident or a disturbance but is differentiated from either by a framework of political or ideological intent directed at producing changes in the organization of society. The 1967 outbursts of violence were not rooted in an endeavor to achieve stated objectives. By these definitions, the outbursts of recent years were incidents and disturbances — but not riots. In sharp contrast, our experience this year will reveal this added element — engagement in violence and destruction to realize specific goals. There will be incidents of violence in virtually every one of the nation's 100 largest cities but we may anticipate a smaller number of disturbances. However, the probability is quite high that we shall experience at least 24 politically articulated riots. We may also expect numerous and intensely violent disturbances, triggered by both white and Negro provocations. The riots this year may well be triggered both by politically motivated white sentiment to suppress and corrode the vigor of the Negro movement for socioeconomic equality of opportunity and by politically motivated Negro sentiment to use violent methods to break through the institutional rigidity of local government, local business, and local crime brokerages — all of which provide the foundation for white domination and white exploitation of the Negro.

One of the remarkable consequences of the 1967 season of violence was the pressure it exercised in forcing rapid political motivation of fairly large numbers of young Negro men and women. Nearly all of these men and women, in 1967, shared the American value of inexorable, gradual change and the flexibility of American institutions to accommodate change. Their per-

ception of what took place all over the country has encouraged them, virtually overnight, to become more politically sophisticated and realistic. Much of the American value of gradual change, at least for black Americans, is seen as illusion and the techniques of change which appear to be most appropriate are those of proven success — the techniques employed by local political machines, by local underworld organizations which are often enmeshed in the local political machine, and by the persuasive power of local business.

The policy of peaceful coexistence between rich and poor, has overnight, been rendered null and void; a climate of political astuteness has been generated among Negroes and is being publicly expressed as a war on "phony liberalism," "official corruption," "officially protected economic exploitation of Negroes". The instrument of this political war is violence.

The first table indicates those cities in which there is a high probability of riots during 1968. The second table lists those cities in which there is a high probability of disturbances. All the nation's 100 largest cities, for which I have attempted to obtain and to develop data during the past several months, including cities where there is a good reason for expecting riots or disturbances, can expect incidents as well.

By referring to the tables, you will notice that, in each city described, the clusters of indicators are shown as having "high prevalence", or "low prevalence". Where data are insufficient, no entry is made. Where there is "high prevalence" for 2 or more clusters of indicators, I consider these cities as having a high probability for disturbances. Where there is a "high prevalence" for 2 or more clusters of indicators and where I have identified statements linking political intent with predisposition of violence, I have noted a "high probability" for riots.

I have omitted any description of clusters for cities with low probability for either riots or disorders simply because there is not enough information to offer such a characterization.

I turn now to the final question I raised at the outset of the discussion. Can measures be undertaken now, without the intervention of law enforcement methods, which would prevent incidents, disturbances or riots and which would produce social change which would benefit all Americans?

I am not here talking about solutions concerned with underlying problems and causes. I am concerned at the moment, only with solutions directly addressed to those factors which act as proximate, immediate causes of violence. The measures I suggest, therefore, are concerned only with action which can be taken to attack the climate of violence. It should be borne in mind that any attempts at solving the problems of violence will surely have an impact on ways of coping with underlying problems; attempts to solve the violence problem will surely have an impact on either raising or lowering the threshold of other tensions not associated with urban unrest and we must expect that as solutions are tried to solve some problems — other and possibly new problems will arise — but this is in the nature of things and we must be prepared to deal with it. I now suggest some violence-reducing measures — a partial listing only.

1. There is a good deal of potential business and managerial talent in economically deprived Negro neighborhoods. Currently, much of this talent is harnessed by the white controlled underworld, and white dominated, local political machinery. A continuing effort should be made, independent of the social and personal background of these "illegal people", to move them rapidly into meaningful job opportunities in the legal world.
2. A concerted effort should be made to break the force of the underworld's grip over major segments of life in the urban community; the traffic in drugs and arms should be decisively ended. Limited experiments should be undertaken to encourage community leadership and law enforcement chiefs to observe whether police duties carried on without the carrying of weapons can help reduce tensions.
3. The news media should fulfill its long neglected responsibility of showing, in full detail, the intense prejudice and proclivity towards racial discrimination which exists. It should also expose the persistent exploitation of the Negro by some segments of the white community.
4. For over a hundred years we have ignored the reports of scholars and enlightened citizens that juvenile courts, juvenile delinquency facilities and the correctional system have been and are total failures, serving mainly as schools for training more serious, hardened and violent of-

fenders. Such reports should be investigated and, if found accurate, public action should be taken to correct the conditions.

5. The stranglehold of corrupt or ineffectual public officials over responsible local public action

should be broken. A massive campaign involving widespread citizen and business leadership participation should be directed at cleaning up and at improving the sensitivity and responsiveness of local government to problems and needs of all the people in the community.

Table 1.
Cities with High Probability of Riots, 1968

City	Cluster I	Cluster II	Cluster III	Cluster IV	Cluster V
San Francisco	H	L	H	O	H
Bridgeport	H	H	H	H	H
Hartford	H	H	H	H	H
Washington, D. C.	H	H	H	L	H
Miami	H	H	H	H	H
Tampa	H	H	H	H	H
Chicago	H	H	H	H	H
Indianapolis	H	H	H	H	H
Kansas City	H	H	L	O	H
New Orleans	H	H	H	H	H
Springfield, Mass.	H	H	H	H	H
Detroit	H	H	H	H	H
Minneapolis	H	H	L	L	H
Newark	H	H	H	H	H
Albany	H	H	L	H	H
New York City	H	H	H	H	H
Rochester	H	H	H	H	H
Youngstown	H	H	H	H	H
Philadelphia	H	H	H	H	H
San Antonio	H	H	H	O	H
Milwaukee	H	H	H	H	H
Atlanta	H	H	L	L	H
Cincinnati	H	H	O	O	H

H = High Prevalence of Indicators

L = Low Prevalence of Indicators

O = Insufficient Data

Table 2.
Cities with High Probability of Disturbances, 1968

City	Cluster I	Cluster II	Cluster III	Cluster IV	Cluster V
Oakland	H	H	O	O	H
Jersey City	H	H	H	L	H
Buffalo	H	H	L	L	H
Columbus	H	H	O	L	H
Birmingham	H	O	O	L	H
Phoenix	H	O	O	H	H
Tucson	H	O	O	H	H
Los Angeles	H	H	O	O	H
San Diego	H	O	L	O	H
New Haven	H	H	L	L	O
St. Petersburg	H	O	O	L	H
Fort Wayne	H	O	H	O	H
Baltimore	H	H	O	O	H
Boston	H	O	O	H	H
Flint	H	O	O	O	H
Grand Rapids	H	O	O	O	H
Elizabeth	H	O	H	H	H
Paterson	H	O	H	H	H
Syracuse	O	O	L	H	H
Akron	H	O	O	O	H
Cleveland	H	H	O	O	H
Dayton	H	H	O	O	H
Toledo	H	H	O	O	H
Erie	H	O	O	H	H

H = High Prevalence of Indicators

L = Low Prevalence of Indicators

O = Insufficient Data

Table 3.
Cities with High Probability of Riots, 1968

City	Cluster I Factors		
	Factor (1) Expression of Will to Commit Violent Acts	Factor (2) Expression of Will to Continue Violence After Enforcement	Factor (3) Expression of Will to Direct Violence at Specific Targets
San Francisco	H	H	L
Bridgeport	H	H	H
Hartford	H	H	H
Washington, D. C.	H	H	L
Miami	H	H	H
Tampa	H	H	H
Chicago	H	H	H
Indianapolis	H	H	L
Kansas City	H	H	O
New Orleans	H	H	L
Springfield, Mass.	H	H	H
Detroit	H	H	H
Minneapolis	H	H	L
Newark	H	H	H
Albany	H	H	L
New York City	H	H	H
Rochester	H	H	H
Youngstown	H	H	O
Philadelphia	H	H	H
Pittsburgh	H	H	H
San Antonio	H	H	O
Milwaukee	H	H	H
Atlanta	H	H	H
Cincinnati	H	H	H

Table 4.
Cities with High Probability of Riots, 1968

City	Cluster II Factors		
	Factor (4) Existence of Informal Violence Training Centers	Factor (5) Illegal Movement of Arms	Factor (6) Movement of Released Offenders
San Francisco	L	H	H
Bridgeport	H	H	H
Hartford	H	H	H
Washington, D. C.	H	H	H
Miami	H	H	H
Tampa	H	H	H
Chicago	H	H	H
Indianapolis	H	H	H
Kansas City	H	H	O
New Orleans	H	H	L
Springfield, Mass.	H	H	H
Detroit	H	H	H
Minneapolis	H	H	H
Newark	H	H	H
Albany	H	H	H
New York City	H	H	H
Rochester	H	H	H
Youngstown	H	H	H
Philadelphia	H	H	H
Pittsburgh	H	H	H
San Antonio	H	H	L
Milwaukee	H	H	H
Atlanta	H	H	H
Cincinnati	H	H	H

Table 5.
Cities with High Probability of Riots, 1968

City	Cluster III Factors			
	Factor (7) Dissatisfaction with Local Government	Factor (8) Skepticism Toward "Upgrading Programs"	Factor (9) Rejection of "Upgrading Programs"	Factor (10) Dissatisfaction with Local Health Service
San Francisco	H	H	H	O
Bridgeport	H	H	H	H
Hartford	H	H	H	H
Washington, D. C.	H	H	H	H
Miami	H	H	H	H
Tampa	H	H	H	H
Chicago	H	H	H	H
Indianapolis	H	H	H	H
Kansas City	L	H	H	H
New Orleans	H	H	H	H
Springfield, Mass.	H	L	L	H
Detroit	H	H	H	H
Minneapolis	L	H	L	H
Newark	H	H	H	H
Albany	L	H	H	H
New York City	H	H	H	H
Rochester	H	H	H	H
Youngstown	H	H	H	O
Philadelphia	H	H	H	H
Pittsburgh	H	H	H	L
San Antonio	L	H	H	H
Milwaukee	H	H	H	H
Atlanta	H	H	H	H
Cincinnati	H	H	H	H

Table 6.
Cities with High Probability of Riots, 1968

City	Cluster IV Factors	
	Factor (11) Dissatisfaction with Juvenile and Family Courts	Factor (12) Feelings about Police-Community Relations
San Francisco	H	H
Bridgeport	H	H
Hartford	H	H
Washington, D. C.	H	H
Miami	H	H
Tampa	H	H
Chicago	H	H
Indianapolis	H	H
Kansas City	H	H
New Orleans	H	H
Springfield, Mass.	H	H
Detroit	H	H
Minneapolis	H	H
Newark	H	H
Albany	H	H
New York City	H	H
Rochester	H	H
Youngstown	H	H
Philadelphia	H	H
Pittsburgh	H	H
San Antonio	H	H
Milwaukee	H	H
Atlanta	H	H
Cincinnati	H	H

Table 7.
Cities with High Probability of Riots, 1968

City	Cluster V Factors				
	Factor (13) Tensions Produced by White Underworld Domination	Factor (14) Movement of Stolen Goods	Factor (15) Movement of Drugs	Factor (16) White Control of Prosti- tution	Factor (17) White Control Loan- Sharking, Gambling
San Francisco	H	H	H	H	H
Bridgeport	H	H	H	H	H
Hartford	H	H	H	H	H
Washington, D. C.	H	H	H	H	H
Miami	H	H	L	H	H
Tampa	H	H	H	H	H
Chicago	H	H	H	H	H
Indianapolis	H	L	H	H	H
Kansas City	H	L	L	H	H
New Orleans	H	H	H	H	H
Springfield, Mass.	H	L	L	H	H
Detroit	H	H	H	H	H
Minneapolis	H	H	L	H	H
Newark	H	H	H	H	H
Albany	H	H	H	H	H
New York City	H	H	H	H	H
Rochester	H	H	H	H	H
Youngstown	H	L	L	H	H
Philadelphia	H	H	H	H	H
Pittsburgh	H	H	H	H	H
San Antonio	H	L	O	H	H
Milwaukee	H	H	L	H	H
Atlanta	H	H	H	H	H
Cincinnati	H	H	H	H	H

Table 8.
Cities with High Probability of Disturbances, 1968

City	Cluster I Factors		
	Factor (1) Expression of Will to Commit Violent Acts	Factor (2) Expression of Will to continue Violence After Enforcement	Factor (3) Expression of Will to Direct Violence at Specific Targets
Oakland	H	L	L
Jersey City	H	L	L
Buffalo	H	L	L
Columbus	H	H	H
Birmingham	H	H	H
Phoenix	H	H	H
Tucson	H	H	H
Los Angeles	H	H	H
San Diego	H	H	L
New Haven	H	H	L
St. Petersburg	H	H	L
Fort Wayne	H	L	L
Baltimore	H	H	H
Boston	H	H	H
Flint	H	H	H
Grand Rapids	H	L	L
Elizabeth	H	L	L
Paterson	H	H	H
Syracuse	H	H	H
Akron	H	H	H
Cleveland	H	H	H
Dayton	H	H	H
Toledo	H	H	H
Erie	H	H	H

Table 9.
Cities with High Probability of Disturbances, 1968

City	Cluster II Factors		
	Factor (4) Existence of Informal Violence Training Centers	Factor (5) Illegal Movement of Arms	Factor (6) Movement of Released Offenders
Oakland	O	O	O
Jersey City	H	H	H
Buffalo	H	H	H
Columbus	H	H	H
Birmingham	O	H	H
Phoenix	H	H	L
Tucson	H	H	L
Los Angeles	H	H	H
San Diego	H	H	H
New Haven	H	H	H
St. Petersburg	L	L	L
Fort Wayne	H	H	O
Baltimore	H	H	H
Boston	H	H	O
Flint	H	H	O
Grand Rapids	O	H	O
Elizabeth	H	H	H
Paterson	H	H	H
Syracuse	H	H	H
Akron	H	H	H
Cleveland	H	H	H
Dayton	H	H	H
Toledo	H	H	H
Erie	H	H	H

Table 10.
Cities with High Probability of Disturbances, 1968

City	Cluster III Factors			
	Factor (7) Dissatisfaction with Local Government	Factor (8) Skepticism Toward "Upgrading Programs"	Factor (9) Rejection of "Upgrading Programs"	Factor (10) Dissatisfaction with Local Health Service
Oakland	H	O	O	H
Jersey City	H	H	H	H
Buffalo	H	H	H	H
Columbus	H	H	H	H
Birmingham	H	H	H	H
Phoenix	H	L	L	O
Tucson	H	L	L	O
Los Angeles	H	H	H	L
San Diego	H	L	L	L
New Haven	L	H	H	L
St. Petersburg	H	H	H	H
Fort Wayne	L	L	L	L
Baltimore	H	H	H	H
Boston	H	H	H	H
Flint	H	H	H	L
Grand Rapids	H	L	L	L
Elizabeth	H	H	H	L
Paterson	H	H	H	L
Syracuse	H	H	H	O
Akron	H	H	H	O
Cleveland	H	H	H	L
Dayton	H	H	H	L
Toledo	H	H	H	L
Erie	H	H	H	H

Table 11.
Cities with High Probability of Disturbances, 1968

City	Cluster IV Factors	
	Factor (11) Dissatisfaction with Juvenile and Family Courts	Factor (12) Feelings about Police-Community Relations
Oakland	O	H
Jersey City	H	H
Buffalo	H	H
Columbus	H	H
Birmingham	H	H
Phoenix	H	H
Tucson	H	H
Los Angeles	H	H
San Diego	H	H
New Haven	H	H
St. Petersburg	H	H
Fort Wayne	L	H
Baltimore	H	H
Boston	H	H
Flint	H	O
Grand Rapids	O	O
Elizabeth	H	H
Paterson	H	H
Syracuse	H	H
Akron	H	H
Cleveland	H	H
Dayton	H	H
Toledo	H	H
Erie	H	H

Table 12.
Cities with High Probability of Disturbances, 1968

City	Cluster V Factors				
	Factor (13) Tensions Produced by White Underworld Domination	Factor (14) Movement of Stolen Goods	Factor (15) Movement of Drugs	Factor (16) White Control of Prostitution	Factor (17) White Control Loansharking Gambling
Oakland	H	O	O	O	H
Jersey City	H	H	H	H	H
Buffalo	H	H	H	H	H
Columbus	H	O	O	O	H
Birmingham	H	O	O	O	O
Phoenix	H	O	O	O	H
Tucson	H	O	O	O	H
Los Angeles	H	H	H	H	H
San Diego	H	H	H	H	H
New Haven	H	H	H	H	H
St. Petersburg	H	H	H	H	H
Fort Wayne	O	O	O	O	O
Baltimore	H	H	H	H	H
Boston	H	H	H	H	H
Flint	O	O	O	O	O
Grand Rapids	O	O	O	O	O
Elizabeth	H	H	H	H	H
Paterson	H	H	H	H	H
Syracuse	H	H	H	H	H
Akron	H	O	O	O	O
Cleveland	H	O	O	O	O
Dayton	H	O	O	O	O
Toledo	O	O	O	O	O
Erie	H	H	H	H	H

Table 13.
Urban Unrest Indicators Present, No Probability Statement

City	Cluster I Factors		
	Factor (1) Expression of Will to Commit Violent Acts	Factor (2) Expression of Will to Continue Violence After Enforcement	Factor (3) Expression of Will To Direct Violence At Specific Targets
Mobile	H	H	H
Montgomery	H	H	H
Fresno	O	O	O
Long Beach	O	O	O
Sacramento	O	O	O
San Jose	O	O	O
Denver	L	L	O
Jacksonville	H	H	H
Savannah	H	H	H
Rockford	L	L	L
Evansville	H	L	O
Gary	H	H	O
South Bend	O	O	H
St. Paul	H	H	O
Charlotte	H	L	O
Oklahoma City	H	O	O
Dallas	L	L	L
Houston	L	L	L
Richmond	H	H	H
Seattle	H	H	H
Madison	O	O	O

Table 14.
Urban Unrest Indicators, No Probability Statement

City	Cluster II Factors		
	Factor (4) Existence of Informal Violence Training Centers	Factor (5) Illegal Movement of Arms	Factor (6) Movement of Released Offenders
Mobile	H	H	O
Montgomery	H	H	O
Fresno	H	H	O
Long Beach	H	H	O
Sacramento	H	H	O
San Jose	O	O	O
Denver	O	H	O
Jacksonville	H	L	O
Savannah	L	L	O
Rockford	H	L	O
Evansville	H	L	O
Gary	H	H	O
South Bend	O	O	O
St. Paul	H	H	O
Charlotte	O	O	O
Oklahoma City	L	L	O
Dallas	L	L	O
Houston	L	L	O
Richmond	L	L	O
Seattle	H	H	O
Madison	O	O	O

Table 15.
Urban Unrest Indicators, No Probability Statement

City	Cluster III Factors			
	Factor (7) Dissatisfaction with Local Government	Factor (8) Skepticism Toward "Upgrading Programs"	Factor (9) Rejection of "Upgrading Programs"	Factor (10) Dissatisfaction with Local Health Service
Mobile	H	O	O	H
Montgomery	H	O	O	H
Fresno	H	O	O	O
Long Beach	H	O	O	O
Sacramento	H	O	O	O
San Jose	H	O	O	O
Denver	H	O	O	L
Jacksonville	H	O	O	H
Savannah	H	O	O	H
Rockford	H	O	O	H
Evansville	H	O	O	H
Gary	H	O	O	L
South Bend	H	O	O	H
St. Paul	H	O	O	H
Charlotte	H	O	O	H
Oklahoma City	H	O	O	L
Houston	H	O	O	H
Richmond	H	O	O	H
Seattle	H	O	O	H
Madison	H	O	O	H

Table 16.
Urban Unrest Indicators, No Probability Statement

City	Cluster IV Factors	
	Factor (11) Dissatisfaction with Juvenile and Family Courts	Factor (12) Feelings about Police- Community Relations
Mobile	H	O
Montgomery	H	O
Fresno	H	O
Long Beach	O	O
Sacramento	O	O
San Jose	O	O
Denver	O	O
Jacksonville	H	O
Savannah	H	O
Rockford	H	O
Evansville	H	O
Gary	H	O
South Bend	O	O
St. Paul	H	O
Charlotte	H	O
Oklahoma City	H	O
Houston	H	O
Richmond	H	O
Seattle	H	O
Madison	H	O

Table 17.
Urban Unrest Indicators, No Probability Statement

City	Cluster V Factors				
	Factor (13) Tensions Produced by White Underworld Domination	Factor (14) Movement of Stolen Goods	Factor (15) Movement of Drugs	Factor (16) White Control of Pros- titution	Factor (17) White Control Loan- Sharking, Gambling
Mobile	0	0	0	0	0
Montgomery	0	0	0	0	0
Fresno	0	0	0	0	0
Long Beach	0	0	0	0	0
Sacramento	0	0	0	0	0
San Jose	0	0	0	0	0
Denver	0	0	0	0	0
Jacksonville	0	0	0	0	0
Savannah	0	0	0	0	0
Rockford	0	0	0	0	0
Evansville	0	0	0	0	0
Gary	0	0	0	0	0
South Bend	0	0	0	0	0
St. Paul	0	0	0	0	0
Charlotte	0	0	0	0	0
Oklahoma City	0	0	0	0	0
Houston	0	0	0	0	0
Richmond	0	0	0	0	0
Seattle	0	0	0	0	0
Madison	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix B

This section describes the research methods used to develop data concerning the "indicator" clusters referred to in the paper.

It should be noted that since the factors described have been generally overlooked in official statistics-gathering operations, the information is sketchy, offering no opportunity for inter-city comparative analysis and resisting expression in terms of rates, precise quantitative measures and indices. The method used relied heavily on interviews with both Negro and white young male adults, aged 16-30, living in or adjacent to ghetto neighborhoods. Over 800 interviews were with

local law enforcement agents, employees of local "up-grading" programs, newspaper reporters and "street people" (persons earning a livelihood from illegal activity). In addition, newspaper stories were analyzed for relevant information, hundreds of telephone calls were made to persons living in cities in which no direct interviews were conducted and supplementary sensitizing data were developed from both published and unpublished reports of several Federal and numerous local public agencies.

Following is an identification, for each Cluster of "Indicators" of the principal methods used to develop data.

Cluster I – *Predisposition to Commit Violence as a Method for Producing Social Change*

Indicator

- (1) Expression of will to commit violent acts
- (2) Expression of will to continue violence after the intervention of law enforcement controls
- (3) Expression of will to direct violence against specific targets

Methodology

- Primary* – Interviews, (civilians)
- Secondary* – Newspaper stories
- Primary* – Interviews, (civilians)
- Secondary* – Newspaper stories
- Interviews* – (civilians)

Cluster II – *Existence of Violence Readiness Factors*

Indicator

- (4) Violence Training Centers
- (5) Illegal Movement of Small Arms
- (6) Movement of released offenders

Methodology

- Interviews* – (Civilians)
- Interviews* – (Civilians, Police)
- Primary* – Interviews (Civilians)
- Secondary* – Law Enforcement Agents, Official reports.

Cluster III – *Expressions of Dissatisfaction with Local Government*

Indicator

- (7) Allegations of Official Corruption
- (8) Skepticism towards up-grading programs
- (9) Rejection of up-grading programs
- (10) Dissatisfaction about Health Services

Methodology

- Primary* – Interviews (Civilians)
- Secondary* – Newspaper stories Published "Hearings", Unpublished Official Reports
- Primary* – Interviews (Civilians)
- Secondary* – Newspaper stories Published "Hearings", Unpublished Official Reports.
- Interviews* – (Civilians, program personnel)
- Inferences from Published Reports*

Cluster IV – *Government Institutions as Breeding Grounds for Violence*

(11) Dissatisfaction with Juvenile and
Family Court

(12) Police – Community Relations

Primary – Interviews (Civilians)

Secondary – Published Public Reports

Interviews – (Civilians, Police)

Cluster V – *Economic Exploitation of the Negro Community by the White Underworld*

(13) Negro Succession to Underworld Leadership

Primary – Interviews

Secondary – Published Public Reports,

Newspaper stories

Interviews

(14-17) Profit taking by white crime bosses,
distribution and sale of drugs, white ownership
and patronage of houses of prostitution, white
domination of illegal fiduciary operations.

After the interview data and related materials were gathered and codified, the task of analysis involved subjective correlations with general information about the disorders which occurred in 1967. In addition, reports prepared by social scientists who studied selected aspects of the 1967 disorders were analysed with a view towards "fitting" the data developed for the preparation of this paper with the independent research findings of others. Finally, numerous discussions took place between the author of the paper and other social scientists who had either completed research on aspects of the

1967 disorders or were then involved in on-going studies to further confirm and clarify our own findings.

The current "state of the art" involving the formulation of precise statements about urban tensions and the proximate causes of riots, disorders and incidents, requires reliance on and the use of qualitative measures and a method of analysis and synthesis which is, notwithstanding intense exposure to the realities being studied, highly subjective.

YOU CAN'T SEE THE STARS THROUGH THE STRIPES

by Saul D. Alinsky

America's urban crisis is primarily an umbilical crisis. We concede the unprecedented, sweeping, shattering changes of the times. Comparison with the changes of the past would be like that of the Bomb and its pre-atomic antecedents. There is no comparison. There has been no gradual natural birth into this generation. We have been ripped from the womb of the past. We know, we see, we hear, we talk about this whole changed and ever-changing world but we will not cut the cord of our past and go out to live in the present. The past though dead has the security of familiarity and so we move as Zombies. We are a scene of frenetic fears, confusion and madness. Scared New World.

Our urban crisis is many-problemated. From multiple over-lapping local authorities, residuals of the past, to the flight of whites and industry away from the city, to the massive move-ins of low-income newcomers both white and non-white, to the huge increase in the black population of America's major cities, with all its attendant issues in the schools, housing, jobs and political patterns of today and the sweeping out from under the rug of the dirt of discrimination and the birth of a new cliché in the American language, "the long hot summer". Similarly, we have developed a series of other clichés including the word "confrontation". We are always having a "confrontation" on this or that or avoiding a "confrontation". In fact we have rarely engaged in a confrontation with the issue unless we have been driven to a point of no avoidance. Such a situation came about with the wide-spread violence of last summer when we confronted it with force, but even then confrontation came not from the authorities but from the black ghettos who confronted us with mass violence. Our confrontation was the unavoidable reaction to their action.

Our present impasse is largely due to our refusal to confront the issue because of two reasons: first, because we don't know what to do about it and second, if we do know, we don't want to do it. We shun facing up to the issue by implying a tired series of gambits in the form of conferences, commissions for study, surveys or investigations appointed by the President, or Governor, or Mayor — all of whom knowing full well in advance the inevitable findings of what everyone knows. Fol-

lowing this we militantly and self-righteously proclaim our determination for bold, prompt, massive action which always turns out to be bumbling, procrastinating, minuscule gestures. The rolls of unemployment in Watts are just what they were before the blow-up of 1965. Nothing of significance has changed in Newark. Chicago's West Side rioted in 1966 and got three portable swimming pools. Later citywide demonstrations led to a so-called Chicago Summer Conference with the appointment of a blue ribbon commission, which then like all blue ribbon commissions gave birth to a blue baby; it has done nothing. And so one can tick off the American urban scenes of violence and the record reads the same.

I suggest that we who live in the past don't want a confrontation with the present. I believe that white Americans welcomed the violence of 1967, and under the surface reactions of horror and shock was very deep relief. Now they were back in the familiar jungle of the past. Now the confrontation was in the terms they had understood and in accord with their prejudices. Now they could have a confrontation because they think they know the answer to violence and that is force, and furthermore, knowing this, they want to do it. I believe that should the summer of 1968 be devoid of violence that it would come as an actual massive frustration to many whites who in their own ways would desperately attempt to goad and incite violence in the ghettos.

The issue to which this meeting addresses itself is the race facet of that complex which we call the urban crisis and specifically the void of leadership in the ghettos.

Our most populous cities have little citizen participation, little effective local democracy, and the individual has little, if any, degree of individual self-determination.

The plight of our cities' people, and it is indeed a plight, is made worse by a network of "citizen" committees, "Health and Welfare Councils," "Poverty Program Committees," and other blue ribbon citizen packages that claim to represent people who have given them no mandate, and as often as not are ignorant that others are speaking in their name.

Without questioning the undoubted integrity of

those involved, I believe great harm has been done to the city and its people by these tiny organizations of professionals from private and government agencies who combine with an occasional other non-resident to be spokesmen for hundreds of thousands of people throughout the city. By the unchallenged presence of these small groups the impression is given that the population is being democratically represented. No number of "citizen committees," "Health and Welfare Councils" or other devices can successfully play stand-in for the real thing. Committees and such civic manifestations are not democratic by virtue of ritual.

Misinformed as to the true state of affairs, people honestly searching for ways of allaying the cities' multiplying woes turn to mechanical solutions. Mechanical solutions will not do the job. The truth is that when the people of a great city find the avenues of self-expression cut off, the results are that the political, economic and social channels clog up and back-fire. It is highly undemocratic to plan, govern, arrange and impose programs without communication with the people for whom they are designed; it is also disastrously impractical.

Other cities are rapidly emulating New York's unique and gigantic welfare industry. A more than four hundred page book is need merely to list

that city's social and welfare agencies. The welfare establishment has mushroomed to where it must now be classified as one of urban America's major industries. So many thousands of people and millions of dollars may be an incalculable asset, but may also pose a singular problem, if the industry pursues a course that is either irrelevant or in contradiction to the wishes and demands of the people.

With the current poverty program and other federal operations, public funds are used to supplement and support many "private" agencies' budgets. The practice blurs the line between the public and private domain. Those of us committed to volunteerism as a basic concept in democracy are seriously concerned at the implications involved in this arrangement.

The common concern that a community agency assumes the right to speak for the ghetto or any community is a present and recurrent danger in many parts of every city.

Our cities lack citizen participation or organization on the local level. The failure of the "bot-

tom" to make itself felt has permitted city-wide institutions and major interest groups, be they welfare, economic, religious, service or fraternal, to arrogate the power of speaking for individuals without any challenge or objection. With urban society's skyscraper-like city-wide organizations and agencies, the disappearance of an articulate and active mass base has in effect insulated the heads of these organizations from their bodies.

In the local community the individual citizen generally reacts to this situation by not reacting. Caught in circumstances which make him feel a lack of identification as an individual, which give him a numbing sense of *not* belonging, and a feeling that no one really cares for him, he responds by not caring. In the course of my work I have talked to people in just about every kind of American community, and nowhere is the old slogan "You can't fight city hall," uttered with as much conviction. Our cities have social skyscrapers to match New York's Empire State Building, or Chicago's John Hancock Building, or Boston's Prudential and so on, but in all these and other cities we find their social skyscrapers are defective. There are no elevators running from bottom to top.

Even when a person may have a sudden desire to take a hand, he lacks the instrument by means of which he can translate his desire into active participation. And so the local citizen sinks further into apathy, anonymity and de-personalization. The end his complete dependence on public authority and a state of civic-sclerosis.

This deterioration of the role of the person becomes the major negative element in the future of city life. It is a moot question as to how far city government can advance without the active cooperation and participation of its rank and file citizenry. It will be an evil omen for the democratic process if local citizens surrender their daily and active job of running their society. I do not believe that democracy can survive except as a formality if the ordinary citizen's part is limited to voting, and if he is incapable of initiative or all possibility of influencing the political, social and economic structures surrounding him. This issue is at the center of the future of democracy in America.

The break-down of citizen activity at the local level has fostered a phenomenon foreign to the American scene. The concentration and centra-

lization of power, authority and office in the hands of a few has reached an unprecedented highwater mark in city, state and national government.

I am fully aware of the dangers of a parochial and isolationist mentality. I have seen too many examples of community chauvinists, of jingoistic local groups doing things without consulting the common good. I am painfully cognizant that modern city problems require intricately coordinated planning if they are to be solved. I know too that meeting our city problems satisfactorily means certain sacrifices for the general well-being.

Bearing this in mind I nevertheless recall Alexis de Tocqueville's observation that in the last analysis democracy is preserved and strengthened by maintaining differences and variations. When, as is happening in our cities, all strong, local vested interests are obliterated, when these differences are removed, then I too see what de Tocqueville saw as the major peril to our democracy, an egalitarian society, that may look and have the forms of democracy, but is its very opposite.

This lack of citizen participation and working together on local levels has resulted in walls of isolation and secular barriers between many of the organizations in the local community. These walls extend upwards in social sky-scrapers through the life of the city so that the different institutions are separated to a degree ominous for a democratic future.

The issue we face is not just *what* is to be done, but *how* it is done. The situation here and worldwide is far too sophisticated to attempt to continue the old practices, which I branded years ago as "welfare colonialism." They cannot be paraded under the disguise of democratic trappings simply by admitting black-skinned representatives who more often represent little but themselves, to the privy councils. The substitution of present Uncle Talk-Toughs for past Uncle Toms will be meaningless as long as the former represents no more today than the latter did in the past.

The void of leadership in the black ghetto or similarly in the white ghettos, or the gilded ghettos of the middle class, in short, of the general American scene, is ominous for the democratic future. The democratic process cannot function lacking the essential prime mix of legitimate, bona fide representatives to meet accredited representatives of other sectors of society in the

pushing, hauling, dealing and temporary compromises before the process begins to repeat in what is the perpetual process of pressure of the democratic way. Without this kind of representation the democratic process comes to a halt. This is the democratic gap of today. Where are the leaders of the black ghetto who truly bear the credentials to represent their communities?

Let me put it another way. Suppose that white society, the establishment, the status quo, the power structure or any other name you wish to put on it, awoke one morning after experiencing a divine revelation and said, "Everything we have done in the past as far as our non-white fellow citizens are concerned has been hypocritical, immoral, un-democratic and has violated the moral precepts of Judaic-Christianity. We have behaved as a superior racist colonial power and regarded our black ghettos as colonies of primitive inferior natives. We have arbitrarily imposed upon them our ideas of programs to 'civilize' them. We have sent down our colonial agents in the form of settlement house workers, delinquency workers (on the street, over or under the streets), recreation workers, health, education, religious and other varieties.

"We have bought out those whose intelligence and aggressiveness might have meant trouble. This welfare colonialism policy helped to assuage our guilts so we could say at once that we were honest, moral and democratic while being dishonest, immoral and anti-democratic. Furthermore, ours has been a zoo-keeper mentality of keeping the animals quiet or what sounds nicer, maintaining law and order. We have not only shafted the blacks but insisted that it was for their own good and that they like it too!"

Now we have experienced the incredible divine revelation and within the hour (before its effects wear off) we say, "We have been wrong! From now on we will accept our non-white neighbors as full equals possessed of every right, opportunity and freedom enjoyed by whites. They will sit with us as equals at the decision-making table representing their people." Then the establishment turned to the black ghettos and said, "Send us your representatives." Who would come forth? Who represents these people? Certainly practically none of those whom white society is now consorting with and also financing. There we see why it becomes so

terribly important that the ghettos be organized. Organization is not only for the purpose of power,* but unless a people have organized so that their membership roster is open for public inspection, have met in convention, agreed upon policy, programs, constitution and elected officers, you do not have that necessary combination of circumstances from which legitimate, bona fide, accredited representation can be either selected or elected. In Rochester, New York today Eastman Kodak is sensitively aware that the representatives of FIGHT are more representative of the Rochester black ghetto than any other group. In this kind of situation the elements of the democratic process are present but across the nation the mass of our ghettos are appallingly void of those combinations or organizations which can give birth to legitimate representation.

Certainly it is not in many of those whose vocabulary and mentality is restricted to two two-word sentences, "Black Power" and "Get Whitey." With nine out of ten of them one need not even bring to bear the old time, always germane tale of the Emperor's clothes. Many of them have a minute organized following if it is large enough to deserve the adjective of "minute". This fact, however, should not be confused with the tremendous emotional empathy through the country's ghettos of hate and bitterness against white society for the gross injustices inflicted upon the blacks. Permit me to not digress but to emphasize this point. We dare to talk about the violence of the riots which mainly concern property when for these hundreds of years we have daily, hourly visited upon them violence against human spirit, degradation and denial reminiscent of what we used to think of as Chinese torture. What makes it even worse is our inordinate hypocrisy in posing as protagonists of freedom, equality and fraternity whilst we denounce totalitarian racist butchers. It is a sham, hypocrisy and our phony self-righteousness which makes us grotesque beyond the nightmare.

The danger of black power is that there may be no black power. This nation desperately needs organized power of our black sector and its representatives in our body politic. I am gravely concerned that those who talk black power will not do more than talk, will not engage in the arduous tedious job of organization. If this happens the term black power will in the months to come

degenerate from a proud legitimate slogan and threat to a joke.

When I say organization I mean the kind which can be recognized by the facts that:

- (a) It is rooted in the local tradition, the local indigenous leadership, the local organizations and agencies, and, in short, the local people.
- (b) Its energy or driving force is generated by the self-interest of the local residents for the welfare of their children and themselves.
- (c) Its program for action develops hand in hand with the organization of the community council. The program is in actual fact that series of common agreements which results in the development of the local organization.
- (d) It is a program arising out of the local people, carrying with it the direct participation of practically all the organizations in a particular area. It involves a substantial degree of individual citizen participation; a constant day to day flow of volunteer activities and the daily functioning of numerous local committees charged with specific short-term functions.
- (e) It constantly emphasizes the functional relationship between problems and therefore its program is as broad as the social horizon of the community. It avoids, at all costs, circumscribed and segmental programs which in turn would attract the support of only a segment of the local population.
- (f) It recognizes that a democratic society is one which responds to popular pressures, and therefore realistically operates on the basis of pressure. For the same reason it does not shy away from involvement in matters controversy.
- (g) It concentrates on the utilization of indigenous individuals, who, if not leaders at the beginning, can be developed into leaders.
- (h) It gives priority to the significance of self-interest. The organization itself proceeds on the idea of channeling the many diverse forces of self-interest within the community into a common direction for the common good and at the same time respects the autonomy of individuals and organizations.
- (i) It becomes completely self-financed at the end of approximately three years. This not only testifies to its representative character in that the local residents support their own organization financially, but insures to the local council the acid test of independence: "the ability to pay one's way."

Our cities will not always be a French pastry tray to be picked over by "a higher social class". It may seem a bit removed now, but our fellow

*Webster's Unabridged definition of power: "The ability to act."

citizens will yet live in decent houses, send their children to good schools, eat well, live in pleasant surroundings, be liberated from their ghetto jails, and, above all rule themselves, make their own decisions and cut the patterns for their own destinies. But this will only be done, as always, by the organized efforts of the people represented by those whom they have chosen.

The great American dream which reached out to the stars has been lost to the stripes. We have

forgotten where we came from, we don't know where we are, and we fear where we may be going. Afraid we turn from the glorious adventure of the pursuit of happiness to a pursuit of an illusionary security in a stratified, ordered striped society. Our way of life is symbolized to the world by the stripes of military force. At home we have made a mockery of the morality of being our brother's keeper by being his jail keeper. It is a time of tragedy when Americans can no longer see the stars through stripes.

LEADERSHIP THROUGH GHETTO SELF-HELP

by

Alvin W. Bush

We founded the People's Community Civic League in 1956 and incorporated it in 1957. The original League was formed long before any trouble flared up. To raise money, we had what we called contests in the neighborhoods. By selling barbeques we raised money to send kids who had good marks to summer camps and those with poor marks to summer school.

That was how we started the League.

As an ex-constable in the county of Wayne, I saw that there were many needy families, and remember the problems that I ran into. Among the neediest families, frequently only \$5 to \$10 would have kept them in their homes instead of being evicted.

We always found the money we needed in the People's Community Civic League among the Negroes themselves. We were able to get the money and to say to a family here's \$20 or \$40, and to pay whatever was necessary to keep them where they were so they didn't get evicted.

At one time we had a basket program to buy whatever was necessary for the poor. We had decided that the basket program was a good program so long as it wasn't abused.

At one point, I myself, delivered baskets. On one occasion, just before Christmas, I carried a basket up the back stairs in a dwelling and found a man sitting there half drunk who said "Hey fella. Set it there. I'm not going to get up."

I decided then that the basket program was not the answer to the problems in the community. I became convinced that individual attention should be given to people instead of giving them something for nothing. That we have to involve the poor themselves in order to get them to help themselves, just as the bird builds the nest to help their little ones. This is the thing, I believe, that the people in the ghetto must be taught.

So in 1957, 1958 and 1959, we switched and began doing a tremendous job in placing people in jobs. I approached the Silvercup Bread Company in the City of Detroit, for example, without any demonstration and to my knowledge the first Negro truck driver-salesman was hired in Detroit in 1961.

In 1958, we had the first Negro page boy in the State Legislature in Lansing. It was through our efforts that a poor boy got a chance to go to school as well as be a page boy in Lansing. We got the appointment of the first Negro to work as a secretary in the House of Representatives in Lansing.

So we were on our way, not through pressure, and not through demonstrations. This is the reason our organization, the People's Civic League got big.

But then it lapsed and I'll tell you why it lapsed.

We had a headquarters at Charlevoix and Parker. We had \$3,000 in the treasury and everybody wanted to be president. I found myself in the Veterans Hospital for a time. Meanwhile, the League elected a new president. By the time I came out, the League's money was spent. The leadership must did not measure up.

This is why, we again began marching toward progress in Americanism. We wanted the white business community to sit in with us, to help us, to provide the dollars, to teach us how to spend them wisely and how to do the things, administratively.

Not only that, we wanted to be taught as Americans, with the same emphasis we are trying to teach others across the world. And we are not interested in just Negroes only, we are interested in all the poor whites, Mexicans, Spanish-speaking peoples -- anybody.

Because we believe the answer to the whole question of the Ghetto is that men must learn how to work together -- white and black -- the People's Community Civic League set out in 1963, to get the business community interested.

We thought the whites needed to be told how to help us. We felt that they would help if they only knew how, and we were right.

We believe that the total community -- black and white -- can accomplish more together than in any other way that has been talked about to date.

We learned through the People's Community Civic League that we had to go into the white community because it had all the technical knowhow, the finances and those who were willing to listen to us. They did listen, and we were successful in establishing the Career Development Center, which has a Board of Trustees, black and white.

Note: (The Career Development Center is a training center financed by mostly white businessmen to train Negroes so they can become self supporting. Mr. Bush is President of this Center.)

This is what we did. We took the lapsed charter of the People's Community Civic League and with just \$2.58 in cash, Mrs. Kraft and I brought the League back to life.

Note: (Mrs. Irma Kraft is secretary of the Career Development Center and also Executive Vice President of the People's Community Civic League. She also is a Negro.)

We had just 100 people left in the League. But we put together a combination of two things -- self determination, with God and trust, and a combination of the white community that was willing to help, but which didn't know how to help until we approached them.

Many people go out rabble-rousing and with chips on their shoulders. They believe in tearing down. We don't believe in that kind of thing. We believe and know that white people will help you if you are willing to help yourself. To give you an example. When we had only about \$32 in the treasury, we approached

Mr. Henry Ford, II, his attorney that is, and explained to him what we were trying to do.

From this, Mr. Ford gave us a \$5,000 check. Of course, he didn't know how we were going to put it to work. We could have used the money for expenses or otherwise, but we didn't do it that way.

We used his \$5,000 to get into the building where we are now and where the Career Development Center is located. We agreed to buy the building from UAW Local No. 157 at a cost of \$25,000 cash. In January, 1963, we agreed to give the Local \$5,000 down, \$5,000 more on February 1 and \$5,000 more on April 1 and then pay off the balance within a year.

When April 1 approached, we found ourselves without money, the fuel bill was running \$340 a month, plus light bills and telephone bills. Each member of the League was picking up a piece of it but couldn't pick up all that was due.

At that time, we had only 100 members, all Negroes. But all were people who felt that the only way to do this job against poverty is to do something for themselves. So an appeal was made to them saying that we had to meet a \$5,000 installment on the building, we needed insurance and we had to pay the fuel bill.

I suggested that they should borrow money from the finance company, the credit union, from the banks, get the money out of the shoe boxes, to do whatever we had to do, but we must have that money. Within three or four days we had \$7,000, more than enough to meet the installment and pay the insurance.

We then took another look at the picture and realized that we had to have the building renovated if it was ever to serve as a school to teach other Negroes the skills that would put them to work.

So we went to the white community, to various associations, like the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and other associations, and told them this is what we mean -- what we need. We need help and support from the white community, money and technical help, too, to develop the type of school and training programs we want -- and that we didn't want any government money attached. We told them that the people wanted to help themselves and that they needed the white community to help them to do the job.

We told the leaders of the white community that federal funds would only frustrate our people. We said, suppose we got a big government grant. How can 100 people with no experience handle hundreds of thousands of dollars of government money? Why! We didn't know how!

We also said that if a person is doing something for himself, the image he casts among others is much different than that of the fellow who reaches for handouts. We said that we preferred the fishing pole rather than having a fish given to us every day. We'd rather have the pole, because if you are willing, you can go and catch your own fish. You don't need someone to hand you a fish.

We believed in the American concept from the beginning, that the black people of the community from the beginning must learn that the only answer to their problem is by working with the white community, which has the technical knowhow. It is not the idea of anybody dominating anybody but to share the American dream together as we have always wanted to -- even though we have our problems.

Our dream was that with a combination of bankers, utility people, automobile people together, like the Big Three, and a lot of other companies, we could do the job of helping the poor much better because our form of government has been based on the idea of everybody taking part whether he was discriminated against or not. If everybody took part in the great American dream it would make America work.

I don't believe in draft card burning, way out hairdos and the ideas of every other fink who is coming on the scene because of black power.

We say that the only answer to black power is green power. It's to green power, that's where the Negro should go in America. And by green power I mean money -- money from the white community and the black community to the extent they are able.

Let's digress a minute and discuss how the Negro should get into the main stream. Our dream and concept in the Negro community is that once we are able to buy a building downtown or lease buildings downtown or go into the mainstream of business, that will be it. We want to be able to mix with every American. We don't want to be down in a ghetto in ghetto stores. We don't want to be in a store that is isolated as the community is isolated.

We want every American to walk down Woodward Avenue or any other street. Because there are no black dollars down on 12th Street (the scene of last summer's worst riot) and no black dollars on Linwood and I'm not even going to try to get into one.

I want to get into where the American dollars are floating everywhere. I think anyone who is talking about black separation and black states is wrong. I don't know anything about the Congo, and I have no dreams of going to the Congo. I was born in Louisiana and I'm happy about Louisiana, although I've been discriminated against there. But Louisiana has been one of the places that has been a challenge to me because it taught me how to fight back. How to fight for the things that I want in America! We were deprived. We were denied. Sure! But this didn't mean you couldn't move forward.

As a youngster in the City of New Orleans, I learned a lot from my daddy who was the head of the house. He didn't ask you what to do, he told you what to do. Today, we don't have the male image, we don't have the man-control to teach kids the man image of the American dream.

Some Negroes say -- Give me a separate state. This is not the American way. I think that the Negro should be able to live anywhere. Open occupancy for me is not what I'm looking for. I'm looking for houses right back in the Ghetto that could be renovated to give ownership, back to white and Negro communities together with the backing of white money, and the white community doing some sweat equity themselves. Pushed into a program like this, we could make the slums more liveable because they'll have doors in their houses, they'll have windows, they'll have the private bathrooms and the things they need.

Now, how do you learn how to help yourself? I remember when the white kinds in the city of New Orleans lost good baseballs and good tennis balls that rolled into the sewers. Later, they would float out into the Industrial Canal. We had an old net and we would pray for the rain to come because all the balls we had from the last rain had disappeared. So we needed some new balls. When the

rain came, the balls floated out of the sewers and we'd get them.

This is the way we are talking about self help. We didn't go around stealing balls. We went down to the Industrial Canal to concentrate on how we could get those balls we needed without money. So we found ways to get them from the canal.

But to get back to Detroit again. We have a very good organizational structure inside of Detroit -- both white and black that is moving to help solve the problem between the races. We have a plan that soon will be available to everybody in the United States.

The details of this plan will be available at the appropriate time. Much still remains to be done.

We have what you would call an organizational chart in the City of Detroit, which outlines a program with the Big Three, the New Detroit Committee, and the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce, plus a good many others, that we have approached with this master plan.

This master plan will be unfolded in the near future in the City of Detroit. We will explain how it could work across the country, because we are going to put it to work in Detroit.

The program includes a positive-thinking Negro group that believe in Americanism and a positive-thinking white business community that we know can do the job. Together we are going to show the world, the citizens of Detroit that it will be done.

Our plan is designed to get people to work together, white and black, because the blacks don't have a leader any more than the white's have a leader when it comes to this urban crisis.

You can get people to help themselves when they trust you and they know that you are really trying to help, not for your personal gain, but to really help them help themselves. So many people say that the Negroes are lazy -- and they are this -- they are that. The whites have been brainwashed, you know. But, if you prove to Negroes that you are really sincere in trying to help them and you furnish the bootstrap for them to try to help themselves -- whether those helping are black or white -- a big job will be done in the Negro community.

The trouble is that today so many people tell the Negro to pull himself up by his own bootstraps, but they deprive him of nearly everything, even the bootstrap.

Today, the black people and the poor are so frustrated because they hear about the War on Poverty. The first thing they thought of was -- now, I'm going to get food in my stomach and I'm going to get some shoes.

But the first thing that happened was that there were lots of people hired in the Poverty Program and all of everything was away up there, and the poor down here who still haven't any shoes on their feet, and still haven't got any food in their stomachs.

Still the program is supposed to be a War on Poverty. They've taken

people that had good jobs and given them better jobs. Sure, these people are making more money, but the poor are being alienated even more. This is why they are getting angrier. The poor see all this money going to waste. Then they hear people say -- give me some more money to find out how I wasted it. And the poor remain hungry.

Basically, our plan will face up to these gaps in the Poverty Program.

First of all, the poor have got to have a house to live in, they've got to have food and money to buy it. They've got to have clothes to wear.

In Detroit, with the Career Development Center, we've started with education, but education is not the total answer. You've got to prepare the whole man. Even a job itself is not the entire answer. You've got to do other things. You mesh these other things to get this whole man really functioning in the mainstream. This is what you have to do.

This new plan we've worked out in Detroit, broadly speaking, is one in which we are going to look into all of the basic functions that are needed to make this man happy. And we have to do this in cooperation with the white community, because they have all the money and all the facilities. And the white community, some of them, have a lot of dedication.

Before closing I want to say something about the Career Development Center. It is situated in a three story, 32,000 square foot building at 14th and McGraw in Detroit. This is right in the heart of what, last year, was the riot area. Most of the trouble was on 12th and we are on 14th. So you can see, we were just a couple of blocks away from the riot, but the only damage to the Center was one broken window.

The Career Development Center is a do-it-yourself, self improvement project, and its Board of Trustees includes 36 of Detroit's most influential men.

Nobody gets a handout and nobody is guaranteed a job. It even costs money to get what is offered. Not one cent of government money is involved.

Original angels were Henry Ford, II, chairman of the Ford Motor Co., and Charles Helin, head of the Helin Tackle Co., but the list of contributors is a cross section of the Detroit business community.

With Mr. Ford leading it, a fund-raising campaign has raised \$250,000 for this year's budget with \$325,000 as the goal for the budget for the current year.

High school graduates and drop-outs, who have gotten at least through the eighth grade, are initial targets. As it grows, Community Development Center plans to dig deeper into the unemployed but at first it is reaching for those it feels can be made employable quickly.

Currently, the Center offers general educational courses -- the three R's, typing, business machine operation, clerical training and teletype operating. In the planning stage are welding, auto mechanics, electrical appliance and equipment maintenance, cooking and serving.

There are no graded classes. Tests indicate a student's level of learning.

Those who enroll pay \$25, either upon entering, or from income after they get a job.

I never did believe that any man or woman, appreciated anything he got for nothing.

The graduates, sixty thus far, have all been women, as the school isn't ready to accept men yet. Another 114 are enrolled in classes limited to 12 students each, but the Center has a goal of 3,000 graduates a year.

You ask, "What about the men, if we aren't accepting them?" We're not ignoring them. We're placing them with big company apprentice programs for training, but that will soon end too, and then we'll train them ourselves.

We are proud of the Career Development Center as an example of what can be done with self help and determination. We had an idea and people listened -- the blacks and the whites. We're going to prove that by working together -- we can solve our problems.

THE MANPOWER AND CONSUMER POTENTIALS OF THE URBAN POOR

Seymour L. Wolfbein

This paper presents a first attempt to illustrate, in quantitative terms, the potentials of both manpower supply and consumer spending, which exist among the urban poor.

Specifically, it presents illustrative, but specific, estimates of the changes which could occur in both the size and composition of the American work force (including its occupational distribution) and the size and composition of personal consumer expenditures (including product distribution)--if we continue on a course of sustained economic growth, meet our major commitments in the arena of civil rights and make a meaningful dent on the incidence of poverty.

These estimates and projections underscore the fact that any kind of really important move in these directions would cause a significant decrease in expected manpower shortages which are expected over the next half dozen years or so--and would bring a dramatic burst of change in spending, both in greatly increased amounts and changing patterns associated with rising living standards.

PART A

I

"Our present study finds that not enough manpower will be available in ten years if the American people and their government try to achieve simultaneously all standards which knowledgeable people regard as desirable and reasonable in the various areas identified as national goals."(1)

This conclusion, based on a just-published (February, 1968) full scale study of the manpower implications of American objectives as first described in President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals (2) directly contravenes the argument that fewer workers will be required in the years ahead because of accelerating technological development.

In fact, the estimates projected by this study point to the need of almost 14 million more workers than the U. S. Labor Department data indicate will make up the American employed work force by 1975, if we kindled alive our aspirations as a nation in such areas as health, education, housing, social welfare, manpower retraining, agriculture, natural resources, private plant and equipment, urban development, etc.

What transpires by 1975 will, of course, depend on what actions we take to give effect to our goals; there will almost certainly be shifts in emphasis, e.g., in national defense, space, international aid; it is even conceivable that some entirely new goal will emanate from the course of human events, despite the short span of only seven years between now and 1975. There are, indeed, still other variables: Technological developments, yet unseen, but just over the horizon, may diminish manpower requirements in a variety of fields.

There is one other pathway available for meeting national manpower needs: The reduction in unemployment, the diminution in underemployment, the entry into the labor force of significant numbers of persons of working age now estranged from the American job market.

There exists in the U.S.A. today an enormous manpower potential which could yield the hands, the talents, the skills to meet a considerable part of the shortfall in workers anticipated by 1975, assuming we wish to make some considerable advance in reaching our goals.

The following section describes this decade's (1965-1975) expected changes in the size and composition of the American labor force, as background to an examination of what this manpower potential can be.

II

There are ten major points about manpower change by 1975 which are relevant. (3)

1. The span of years running from 1965 to 1975 will witness a rise of about 20% in the labor force of the U. S. The net increase will amount to about 15 million workers--the largest upturn for any ten year period in American history, bigger even than the much discussed population explosion.

2. A big part of the 1965-75 story lies in the enormously different pattern of change which will occur during this decade among the various age groups. One age group--those who will be between 35 and 44 years of age--will actually experience a decline of about one million workers by 1975. The adjacent age cohort--those between 25 and 34 years of age--will rise by an unprecedented 6 millions, or 40%, or double the overall rate of labor force increase which, as already noted, is itself unparalleled in size.

3. Between 1965 and 1975, the labor force increases by age are expected to look as follows:

<u>Change in Labor Force/By Age and Color/1965-1975</u>			
<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>
Total	<u>20%</u>	<u>19%</u>	<u>26%</u>
14-19	24	20	54
20-24	42	41	51
25-34	41	41	40
35-44	-6	-6	-1
45-54	13	12	18
55-64	22	22	21
65-	4	7	2

4. Highlighted by these figures is the huge white-nonwhite differential in labor force increases by 1975. Because of the post war bulge in birth rates, there is going to be more than a fifty per cent upturn in the number of new, nonwhite workers. At the earlier ages, nonwhites are going to make up one out of every seven workers in the U.S. All employing institutions searching for manpower, especially in the face of the projected decline among the more experienced adult workers, are already finding--and will find it more so in the immediate years ahead--that the pool of available workers is among the younger age cohorts, where nonwhites account for increasingly significant numbers.

5. This kind of manpower profile comes face to face with some equally dramatic changes in both the industrial and occupational deployment of the labor force.

We already are the only country in the world where its majority of workers are engaged in producing services rather than goods, and the outlook is for further movement in that direction, as the few summary figures which follow show:

Per Cent Change in Employment By Major Industry Division

1965-1975

<u>Industry Division</u>	<u>% Change: 1965-1975</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>22%</u>
<u>Goods-Producing</u>	<u>7</u>
Mining	-2
Construction	32
Manufacturing	9
Agriculture	-18
<u>Service-Producing</u>	<u>32</u>
Transportation & Public Utilities	12
Trade	27
Finance, Insurance	23
Science	42
Government	39

If these changes actually take place--and the movement so far since 1965 has been almost exactly on course, then:

- Two out of every three workers will be engaged in producing services and one in three will be producing goods./In 1950, the ratio was 50-50 between goods and services.
- More than one in six workers will be working for a government enterprise, mostly at the state and local level.
- Less than 5% of all workers will be producing all the agricultural production in this country.
- One out of every five workers will be earning a living by buying and selling ("trade").

6. Simultaneously, the white collar occupations have moved way ahead of their blue collar counterparts, are scheduled for still further substantial increases in employment:

<u>Per Cent Change In Employment By Major Occupational Group</u> <u>1965 - 1975</u>	
<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>% Change 1965-1975</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>White Collar</u>	<u>33</u>
Professional, technical	45
Proprietary, managerial	25
Clerical	31
Sales	23
<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>14</u>
Skilled craftsmen	24
Semi-skilled operatives	12
Unskilled laborers	-3
<u>Service</u>	<u>35</u>
<u>Farm</u>	-18

By 1975:

--Just about one out of every two people who work will be engaged as a white collar worker.

--One out of every seven workers will be professional personnel.

--In fact, professional personnel will, for the first time in our history, outnumber the skilled craftsman, the historic symbol of American industrial enterprise.

--Less than 5% of all workers will be unskilled.

7. Even the very geography of employment and manpower needs has experienced huge change and there appears to be nothing in the offing which indicates any moderation in this change.

Just within this decade (1961-1966) the following per cent change range in employment prevailed among the different regions:

<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>18%</u>
East South Central	24
South Atlantic	24
Pacific	22
West South Central	22
East North Central	19
Mountain	19
West North Central	16
New England	13
Middle Atlantic	11

As a result:

--One out of every six jobs can be found in just three states:

California, Texas and Florida.

--The Middle Atlantic Region (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania), always the holder of first place in its share of nonfarm jobs has been ousted by a new leader. The region with the most nonfarm jobs is now the East North Central Region comprising Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin.

--Every state of the deep South has increased employment above the national average rate.

In looking ahead major increases in nonwhite workers are scheduled across the geographic board. The New England region which is experiencing a 33% increase in nonwhite male workers 25-54 years of age during this decade, is projected to have a similar size upturn among these workers during the next decade. Some regions which experienced smaller percentage increases among the nonwhite male workers cohort

during this decade are in for major increases during the next--doubling in the Pacific region, tripling in the East and West North Central regions.

The same is true for individual states. Mississippi, with all of its out-migration, is still expected to see a 42% increase in its number of 25-54 year old nonwhite male workers--double the increase it is getting this decade. Michigan, as another example, is getting a 2% decline in this group now, but is projected to get a 16% increase in the next decade.

8. The geographic problem is, of course, more than an inter-State or regional one. In many respects it is, in its most pressing aspects, a local, city one.

--During the past 25 years, nonwhites in the Central city population have doubled; yet they have actually declined in Suburbia.

--During the first five years of this decade, the Negro population in central cities rose by 20%; it fell by 1% among the whites.

--Yet job opportunities have moved outside the central city, too, especially among exactly those industries and occupations which have experienced (and are scheduled to continue to in the years ahead) the largest overall rates of growth.

9. A very considerable part of the urban poor, particularly the nonwhites, are recent arrivals from rural poor America. In the face of a total population increase of 28 millions during the past decade in the U.S., the rural population actually declined by 400,000--all of it and more accounted for by a drop of 600,000 among Negro rural residents.

The great majority of these out-migrants are the younger workers (for years, now, the highest migration rates have prevailed among those in their late teens and in their twenties). The Department of Agriculture sees a migration rate as high as 35% among that part of the rural labor force which is in its twenties during this decade.

Thus, the upturn in the young nonwhite labor force, already shown to be scheduled for unprecedentedly large increases nationally, will actually be concentrated in the urban areas of the U.S.A.

10. Finally, a look at the major bridge which brings labor demand and labor supply together in this country--education, which always also has served as the pathway toward upward social and economic mobility.

The relationship between education and poverty can be seen from the following summary table showing the situation prevailing at mid-decade:

<u>Education of Head of Family</u>	<u>Incidence of Poverty</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>19%</u>
Less than 8 years of school	44
8 years	25
8-11 years	18
12 years	10
13-15 years	9
16 or more years	5

The same, of course, is true of the relationship between educational attainment and unemployment. As recent data indicate, the jobless rate among those who do not finish high school is about double that of high school graduates who, in turn, have a rate of unemployment almost triple that of the college graduate.

In this constellation, the nonwhite has fared relatively poorly. As late as 1966, the median years of schooling among white workers 18 years of age and over was 12.3 (more than a high school graduation); for the nonwhite counterpart, the figure was 10.5, only a little beyond the sophomore year in high school. Yet, the nonwhite actually has a higher educational attainment than the white in the professional and clerical occupations (he often needs that extra to land this kind of job); but he falls badly behind in the other job fields.

III

In viewing these ten major points, it has to be underscored that the poor in general, the nonwhite in particular, and the urban ghetto resident most especially, have experienced:

- The highest rates of unemployment.
- The highest incidence of underemployment.
- The highest proportions of labor force disappearance.

In terms of unemployment:

The summary table presented below gives brief but telling testimony on the persevering differentials in unemployment. Sustained rates of economic growth and, indeed, employment growth overall, simply have failed to make a meaningful dent on the simultaneous existence of extremes in unemployment.

Differentials In Unemployment Rates in 1967 (4)

<u>National Average</u>	<u>3.8%</u>
Men in professional and technical work	1.3
Married men	1.8
All whites	3.4
All nonwhites	7.4
Men in unskilled occupations	7.5
18 and 19 year old boys	10.5
18 and 19 year old girls	12.7
16 and 17 year old boys	14.5
16 and 17 year old girls	14.8
Nonwhite 18 and 19 year old boys	20.1
Nonwhite 18 and 19 year old girls	28.3
Nonwhite 16 and 17 year old boys	28.9
Nonwhite 16 and 17 year old girls	32.0

The situation is exacerbated among those who reside in the urban ghettos. Documentation of some of the facts of this situation are now available for the first time in a systematic collection of the data undertaken by the U. S. Department of Labor on the basis of its ongoing monthly sample of the labor force.

The data for the year just past (1967)--some of which are presented in the following paragraphs show that:

--In the 20 largest standard metropolitan statistical areas the rates of unemployment are bigger for the central city than for the urban fringe.

--The unemployment rates are consistently higher for the nonwhites than the whites

--The unemployment rates are consistently very much higher for those in their teens.

Thus:

Unemployment Rates in 20 Largest Central Cities
and Their Urban Fringes (5)
1967

	<u>Central Cities</u>	<u>Urban Fringes</u>
<u>Total</u>	4.7%	3.3%
White	3.7	3.1
Nonwhite	7.6	7.0
White men 20 years and over	2.8	1.7
Nonwhite men 20 years and over	4.9	4.4
White women 20 years and over	3.5	3.6
Nonwhite women 20 years and over	6.6	6.3
White persons 16-19 years	11.5	10.7
Nonwhite persons 16-19 years	31.6	37.5

In general, the 1967 unemployment rate for the central cities was 43% higher than the corresponding rates for their outlying urban areas; it was 24% higher than the corresponding rate for the country as a whole.

Attention must also be directed to the severe problem existing among those in their teens. Among the nonwhite youth, for example, the unemployment rate was 19% higher for those in the central city than for their counterparts in the outlying urban areas; it was 43% higher than the corresponding rate for the country as a whole.

In terms of underemployment:

Underemployment can be defined in a variety of ways, but one of the most telling is documented by the skill level at which different sectors of the population are employed.

The contrasting occupational distribution, shown in the summary table below, underscores the huge differentials existing between the whites and nonwhites.

A few highlights:

--While just about 1 out of every 2 white workers is in a white collar job, the corresponding ratio among nonwhites is about 1 in 5.

--The proportion of whites in professional jobs is double that of the nonwhites

Occupational Distribution of Employed Persons/By Color/1967 (6)

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Nonwhite</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
<u>White Collar</u>	<u>48.8</u>	<u>22.9</u>
Professional, technical	14.0	7.4
Proprietary, managerial	11.0	2.6
Clerical	17.2	11.2
Sales	6.6	1.7
<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>36.0</u>	<u>42.4</u>
Skilled craftsmen	13.9	7.7
Semi-skilled operatives	18.1	23.5
Unskilled laborers	4.0	11.2
<u>Service</u>	<u>10.5</u>	<u>29.4</u>
Private household workers	1.4	10.4
Other service	9.1	19.0
<u>Farm</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>5.3</u>

--One out of every ten nonwhite employed workers is an unskilled laborer--the single nonfarm occupational group which is expected to decline in job opportunities by 1975. Twenty per cent of all the nonwhite men workers are in this category.

--Almost one out of every three nonwhite employed workers is in the low-paying service occupations. Actually, the figure is 50% for the nonwhite women: 25% in domestic service, 25% in other service work such as laundries, chambermaids in hotels, etc.

In terms of labor force disappearance:

It is a well known and often documented fact that considerable proportions of the nonwhite males are not enumerated in the labor force at all.

The story for the year just past (1967) was as follows:

Per Cent of Noninstitutional Population in the Labor Force

	<u>25-34 yrs.</u>	<u>35-44 yrs.</u>	<u>45-54 yrs.</u>	<u>55-59 yrs.</u>	<u>60-64 yrs.</u>	<u>65-over</u>
White males	97.5%	97.6%	95.8%	90.4%	78.3%	27.2%
Nonwhite males	95.5	94.1	90.7	86.0	75.4	25.6

These figures omit altogether, those nonwhites who are not enumerated at all--a significant figure, particularly in the urban ghettos.

A final word for this section: The discussion and data presentation have focused on the nonwhite who represents the severest form of the current and anticipated urban problem. But the urban poor also include substantial numbers of whites and the succeeding part of this paper will present some of the highlights of that phenomenon in terms of income. At this point, it will suffice to note, for example, that whites in the central cities experienced an unemployment rate 20% above those residing in the urban areas and nine per cent above the national average of all white workers.

IV

The information described so far almost speaks for itself in underscoring the significant manpower potentials available from the urban poor. However, various estimates are available which quantify, in an illustrative manner, the kind of additional employment that could ensue if we continued on a course of sustained economic growth and followed our commitment to civil rights while pursuing various national goals.

For example, coming back to the study to which we referred in opening this part of the paper, the National Planning Association estimates that consummating our goals in the field of urban development would add employment for more than a million nonwhites by 1975, an 81% increase over the comparable figure for 1962. This study contains a wide variety of these projections which illustrate the kinds of potentials we have before us to which the reader can refer.

It is interesting to speculate--again for illustrative purposes--on what the occupational distribution in this country would look like if nonwhites were employed in each occupational group no more than just in the same proportion that they are expected to represent in total employment in 1975, which is about 11%.

All estimates agree that there will be about 10 million nonwhites employed in civilian jobs in 1975. The following table compares what the projection on their occupational distribution may be expected to be in 1975 with what would prevail if their share of the jobs in each occupational group would be equivalent to their share of the overall job total (11%).

Occupational Distribution of Employed Nonwhites in 1975
(In thousands)

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>B-A</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>10,008</u>	<u>10,008</u>	---
Professional, technical	789	1,394	+605
Proprietary, managerial	280	1,045	+765
Clerical	1,077	1,657	+580
Sales	230	589	+359
Skilled	767	1,208	+441
Semi-skilled	2,015	1,676	-339
Unskilled	1,114	510	-604
Household service	1,245	360	-885
Other service	1,980	1,167	-813
Farm	511	402	-109

A = Projected by National Planning Association--cf. footnote reference (1),
Appendix Table 12.

B = Assuming nonwhites represented 11.4% of total in each occupation.

These illustrative estimates underline both the current and 1975 projected concentration of nonwhites in the less skilled job groups and the kind of shift this would mean in the direction of the white collar occupations and away from the service and laborer classifications.

Such shifts in the relatively short span of years remaining till 1975 will, of course, warrant such terms as "unrealistic." They are set down as an exercise which is responsive to the question "What are the manpower potentials of the urban poor?" They can serve as a benchmark against which we can measure the actual course of events of the immediate years ahead, with the reminder that if the occupational distribution now prevailing among nonwhites prevails in 1975, then the expectations are

that their unemployment rate will be five times that of the national average (7). We are already well into the decade 1965-1975.

Every organization, public and private, which has made estimates of future manpower needs underscores two items: The anticipated significant increases in the demand for professional and managerial talent, for skilled hands--and--the shortages in prospect in these very fields.

Responding again to the question of manpower potentials among the currently underutilized sectors of our population, the following estimates are given of the added supply which would be available in this country in a number of specific occupations if, again, following what we did with the broad occupational group, we assumed that nonwhites had no more, no less than their overall share of the expected job totals in each:

Employment in Selected Occupations of Nonwhites in 1975
(In thousands)

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>B-A</u>
Engineers	31	177	+146
Professional nurses	68	98	+ 30
Physicians	24	35	+ 11
Elementary and Secondary School Teachers	208	235	+ 27
Secretaries, stenos, typists	233	435	+202
Carpenters	49	97	+ 48
Machinists	21	63	+ 42
Toolmakers, die makers, setters	4	16	+ 12
Telephone operators	16	42	+ 26
Lawyers	5	40	+ 35
Librarians	9	19	+ 10

A = Projected by National Planning Association--cf. footnote reference (1), Appendix Table 12.

B = Assuming nonwhites represented 11.4% of total in each occupation.

Again, of course, these figures represent extremely sharp shifts in a relatively short span of time and should be regarded as benchmarks against which the movement of the immediate years ahead can be viewed. But an additional 150,000 engineers, or 200,000 more secretarial personnel, or 50,000 more carpenters, or even 10,000 more of the intractably short librarians would go a long, long way not only in upgrading a surpassingly significant sector of the urban poor, but also a long, long way toward meeting the manpower demands of the mid-seventies.

PART B

I

In a nation where, as already has been pointed out, one out of every seven new workers are very soon going to be nonwhite--yet, where currently one out of every two nonwhite males who works does so at unskilled labor and where upwards of 10 per cent of the nonwhite adult males don't even get to be enumerated at all, any kind of significant redeployment begins to have almost startling manpower results.

By the same token, given the close association between unemployment, underemployment and labor force disappearance with poverty, any kind of significant redeployment also begins to have some major consumer and spending potentials as well.

As to the facts about income in general and poverty in particular, (8) the following half dozen points warrant particular mention.

1. In March, 1966 (latest data available) the median money income of American families was \$7,436, double what it was a decade and a half ago, i.e., in 1951. Even when price increases since that time are taken into account, the increase over this span of time was about two-thirds.

2. In March, 1966 families headed by a white person averaged \$7,722 of money income; nonwhite families averaged \$4,628 during the same year, about 60% that of the whites. Throughout the past twenty years for which this kind of information has been collected, the ratio of nonwhite to white median family income has averaged about 55%; it was as low as 51% in 1958; at 60% in 1966, it was at its highest point in the post World War II period.

3. The gains in income have operated to reduce the numbers and proportions of Americans living in poverty. Trends since 1959 are depicted in the accompanying table. Among the highlights:

--In 1966, there were about 30 million persons living in poverty in the U.S.; 20 million were white; 10 million were nonwhite.

--This represented a substantial decline in poverty in this country.

--Among whites, the incidence of poverty has been reduced by 1/3 since 1959.

--Among nonwhites, the corresponding reduction amounted to 1/4.

--As a result, whites have benefited more than nonwhites from the recent declines in the incidence of poverty. They (nonwhites) accounted for 28% of the poor in 1959, but 32% of the poor in 1966.

--About 12½ million children under 18 years of age live with poor families.

--About 1 out of every 8 white children under 18 are part of poor families.

--The corresponding ratio among nonwhite children is 1 in 2.

Incidence of Poverty/By Family Status and Color/1966 and 1959
(In thousands)

Family Status and Color	1966 Below Poverty Level			1959 Below Poverty Level		
	Total	Number	Percent	Total	Number	Percent
<u>Total</u>						
<u>All persons</u>	193,424	29,731	15.4%	176,479	38,940	22.1%
In families	181,054	24,910	13.8	165,777	33,864	20.4
Head	48,921	6,089	12.4	45,062	8,281	18.4
Children under 18 yrs.	69,837	12,503	17.9	63,745	16,637	26.1
Other family members	62,296	6,318	10.1	56,970	8,946	15.7
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over	12,370	4,821	39.0	10,702	5,076	47.4
<u>White</u>						
All persons	170,240	20,126	11.8	156,869	28,231	18.0
In families	159,465	16,101	10.1	147,714	24,072	16.3
Head	44,023	4,379	9.9	40,828	6,183	15.1
Children under 18 yrs.	59,573	7,305	12.3	55,017	11,067	20.1
Other family members	55,909	4,417	7.9	51,869	6,822	13.1
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over	10,775	4,025	37.4	9,155	4,159	45.4
<u>Nonwhite</u>						
All persons	23,194	9,605	41.4	19,610	10,709	54.6
In families	21,589	8,809	40.8	18,063	9,792	54.2
Head	4,898	1,710	34.9	4,234	2,098	49.6
Children under 18 yrs.	10,304	5,198	50.4	8,728	5,570	63.5
Other family members	6,787	1,901	29.8	5,101	2,124	41.7
Unrelated individuals 14 years and over	1,593	796	49.9	1,547	917	59.3

4. The distribution of family money income is also most instructive, especially when whites and nonwhites are compared: The story for 1966 was as follows:

<u>Total</u>	<u>White Families</u>	<u>Nonwhite Families</u>
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Under \$1,000	2	5
\$1,000-1,999	5	13
\$2,000-2,999	6	13
\$3,000-4,999	13	23
\$5,000-7,999	18	17
\$8,000-9,999	24	16
\$10,000-14,999	22	10
\$15,000 and over	10	3

By the time the \$3,000 mark is reached, 31 per cent of the nonwhite families have already been encompassed; this span includes only 13% of the white families. More than half (54%) of all nonwhite families fall below the \$5,000 figure; almost three fourths (74%) of all white families fall above the \$5,000 figure.

5. The effect of the differential occupational status is well reflected in the differential family money income during 1966 among whites and nonwhites who were year-round full-time workers, i.e. where both were employed at least 50 out of the 52 weeks of 1966 at least 35 hours a week. Among white families headed by a year-round full-time worker, median income was \$8,906 during 1966; among the nonwhites, the corresponding figure was \$6,072, almost 25% less.

6. Regional differences also exist, of course, in family income -- both among white and nonwhites. The situation for 1966:

Color and Region	Median Family Income	Percent of Families with average incomes:		
		Below \$1,000	Below \$3,000	\$10,000 and over
<u>U.S.A.</u>	\$7,436	2%	14%	30%
White	7,722	2	13	32
Nonwhite	4,628	5	31	12
<u>Northeast</u>	\$7,878	1%	10%	33%
White	8,056	1	10	34
Nonwhite	5,543	3	18	12
<u>North Central</u>	\$7,893	2%	12%	32%
White	8,051	2	11	33
Nonwhite	5,948	3	21	20
<u>South</u>	\$6,233	4%	21%	22%
White	6,773	3	17	25
Nonwhite	3,446	8	42	5
<u>West</u>	\$8,089	2%	11%	35%
White	8,217	2	11	36
Nonwhite	6,514	3	18	25%

The Southern region of the U. S. is still the lowest on the family income scale, although it is coming up fast, showing the biggest gain in family income since 1953. Between 1953 and 1966, median family income rose 55% in the South, after adjusting for price increases. The corresponding increases in the other regions were 41% for both the Northeast and North Central regions and 45% for the West.

However, family income in the South in 1966 was still about \$1,650 short of the next ranking region (Northeast) and \$1,850 short of the region with the highest average (the West).

The disparity was particularly marked for the nonwhites. For example, 42% of Southern nonwhite families fell below the \$3,000 mark, double the proportion in the next ranking region (North Central). In the West, 25% of the nonwhite families averaged incomes of \$10,000 or more, quintuple the corresponding ratio in the South.

II

From the perspective of the latter part of the 1960s in the U.S.A., the picture appears to emphasize sizeable gains in family income and significant declines in the incidence of poverty over the years, but with a persistence of regional differentials and major white/nonwhite differences in levels and distributions of income, adding up, in fact, to a worsening in the relative position of the nonwhites in some major arenas, e.g., as illustrated by the fact that they now make up a bigger proportion of the poor than they did some years ago. Perhaps one way of summarizing this last point is to note the fact that by the middle of this decade, Negro families accounted for about 10% of all families but only 5% of all family income.

These items provide the context for the following four factors which should also be noted and taken into account in attempting to assay what the potentials in consumer spending are if improvements should occur.

1. Note should be taken of the relative position of the Negro in the population, and how it varies with different parts of our geography--and how it relates to income differentials by region, for example.

Thus, in 1966, Negroes accounted for 11% of the USA population, but that proportion varied by region as follows:

South	20%
Northeast	8%
North Central	8%
West	5%

In other words, the lowest family incomes prevail in the region where the Negroes represent the biggest proportion of the population; by the same token, even relatively small improvements would bring relatively large results in that very region.

The geography of the American Negro has many other significant aspects, as illustrated for example, by the following figures which show the enormous concentration of Negroes in the Central cities, no matter what region they are in:

	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>
<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Metropolitan areas	<u>69</u>	<u>64</u>
Central Cities	56	27
Urban fringe	13	37
Smaller cities, towns, rural areas	31	36

The nub of the difference in the geography of the two color groups is clear: Well over half of the Negroes in this country live in the Central cities, double the proportion among the whites; only 13% of the Negroes live in the outlying suburban areas, one-third of the corresponding proportion among the whites.

The proportions of Negroes in the 30 largest cities in 1965 were as follows:

<u>City</u>	<u>% Negro</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>% Negro</u>
Washington, D. C.	66%	Pittsburgh, Pa.	20%
Newark, N. J.	47	Columbus, Ohio	18
Atlanta, Ga.	44	New York, N. Y.	18
New Orleans, La.	41	Los Angeles, Calif.	17
Memphis, Tenn.	40	Buffalo, N. Y.	17
Baltimore, Md.	38	Boston, Mass.	13
St. Louis, Mo.	36	San Francisco, Calif.	12
Detroit, Mich.	34	Milwaukee, Wisc.	11
Cleveland, Ohio	34	Denver, Colo.	9
Philadelphia, Pa.	31	San Antonio, Tex.	8
Chicago, Ill.	28	San Diego, Calif.	7
Cincinnati, Ohio	24	Seattle, Wash.	7
Indianapolis, Indiana	23	Phoenix, Ariz.	5
Houston, Tex.	23	Minneapolis, Minn.	4
Kansas City, Mo.	22		
Dallas, Tex.	21		

2. There are two other points about educational attainment (which was discussed in Part A) which warrant some note here when related to consumer potentials.

The first is the fact that regional differentials also prevail in educational attainment among Negroes (10). For Negroes 25 years of age and over the average (median) years of school completed was 9.1 in March, 1967--just a shade above the freshman year of high school, to be compared with the average of 12.1 for the whites of the same age group.

The corresponding figures for the Negro group by region were:

West: 11.7

North Central: 10.4

Northeast: 10.3

South: 8.1

Last year, Southern Negroes 25 years of age and over averaged an elementary school education, their counterparts in the West were a third of a year short of a high school diploma.

The second, and very important to an estimate of the potentials in the situation, is to recognize the dynamics of educational attainment by Negroes, as shown by the following few figures for 1967: (11)

Age Group	Total:	Less than : : five years : of school :	Five to : eight years of: school	Some high : school (9 : to 11 years of school)	High School or better (12 or more years of school)
Negroes 25 and over	100%	18	31	22	29
Negroes 25-29 years	100%	2	16	29	53

Obviously, although still lagging behind the whites, the younger Negroes are making very significant strides in moving up the educational ladders in comparison with the older generations.

One of the major problems in this connection, however,--and it represents a significant countervailing force which points up the very long way we still have to go is the fact that not only do nonwhites have less income than whites at every educational level, but the disparity is

greatest among those with a college education. In 1966, nonwhite men 25 years of age and over with only an elementary school education had median incomes which were 80% of the corresponding group among the whites; those with a high school education had incomes which were only 73% of the whites'; and those nonwhites with a college education had only 66% of the average income of whites. (12)

3. The family is the basic spending unit in the U.S.A. and this is why the data presented in this Part are focusing on family income. (Similar income data are also available for so-called "unrelated individuals," i.e., people living by themselves. These are also taken into account in presenting estimates of consumer spending potentials shown in the last part of this paper.)

It is a matter of some import, therefore, to note that, in 1966, among families with children under 18 years of age: 92% of the white families had both parents present, while only 72% of the nonwhite families had both parents present--and almost all of the one-parent families were headed by the woman. What is more, the proportion of these nonwhite families headed by one parent has increased since 1950. (13)

4. In assessing current income conditions and their relationship to potential improvements, note should also be taken of the very significant changes in the pattern of consumer expenditures which occur as income level changes. (14)

In general, the items on which urban families spend their income do not differ significantly by color. They do change markedly for both Negroes and Whites as their annual incomes change.

Per Cent of Family Expenditures/By Family Characteristic and Income Group

Urban Population/1960-1961

	<u>Under \$3,000</u>		<u>\$7,500 and over</u>	
	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>
<u>Total expenditures</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Basics</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>50</u>
Food	29	29	21	23
Clothing	25	27	16	16
Shelter	10	7	16	11
<u>Others</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>50</u>
Household operation	11	9	13	12
Medical care	5	9	4	6
Transportation	6	8	14	16
Miscellaneous	14	11	16	16

As income goes up, the proportion (not, of course, the actual amounts) of income spent on food and clothing move down quite sharply, while such items as transportation and housing and household operation move up.

The changes in some of the more specific items of expenditures are enormous. Only 24% of Negro families with incomes under \$3,000 a year, at the beginning of this decade, owned homes; the corresponding proportion among Negro families with incomes of \$7,500 or more jumped to 54%.

The change in such durable goods as autos is even more dramatic. Only 17% Negro families with incomes under \$3,000 owned automobiles; 88% of the Negro families with incomes of \$7,500 or more owned automobiles.

The proportion of white families owning such items as homes and autos is much bigger at all income levels, but it also changes by a huge factor as income goes up. For example, 31% of white families with incomes under \$3,000 owned autos; 95% of the white families with incomes of \$7,500 owned autos.

Similar expenditure data are available for other specific items ranging from room air conditioners to visits to physicians and dentists. They will not be detailed here, but the same situations prevail: There are significant differentials by color and by income, pointing to large potentials in consumer spending with a diminution in both differentials.

III

In the last section of Part A, illustrative projections were presented to indicate what might be approached in terms of manpower

potentials if progress were made in the labor force/employment/unemployment constellation prevailing among the poor in general, the nonwhites in particular.

Similar illustrative projections are presented here in terms of the consumer spending potentials among these groups in our population. In order to be able to present some order of magnitudes, as was done on the manpower side, the calculations were made as follows:

1. Given, the pattern of personal consumption expenditures as portrayed in the GNP accounts (15), and

--Taking into account the regional differences in income as described, and

--Taking into account the white/nonwhite differentials as described, and

--Taking into account changing patterns of consumer expenditures with changing levels of income, as described, and

--Taking into account educational differentials as described

It was assumed that

--There would, in the next seven years, be a decline in the incidence of poverty of one-third--equal to the one-third decline in the incidence of poverty which took place during the past seven years for which we have data (1959-1966), and

--Leaving still one out of every 12 white persons and one out of every four nonwhite persons in poverty.

2. Under these conditions there would be a 21% increase in personal income in the U.S.A.

In order to again illustrate the impact of such a figure, it can be noted that, at 1967 levels:

--Personal income in the U.S. would have been \$132 billions higher than it actually was./And, even with the same larger-than-average savings rate which prevailed in 1967, which is putting it too conservatively since the added income among the poor represent high velocity dollars--personal spending would have been \$103 billions higher.

3. The regional distribution of percentage increases in personal income would run as follows:

<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>21%</u>
South	32
Northeast	18
West	17
North Central	14

4. With a little over \$100 billions in consumer expenditures added (which, incidentally, in order again to make a conservative estimate, omits any multiplier effects of added spending) the deployment of the consumer dollar in 1967 would have been as follows:

Food	\$131	22%
Clothing	65	11
Personal Care	12	2
Housing	95	16
Household Operation	83	14
Medical Care	36	6
Transportation	83	14
All other	<u>90</u>	<u>15</u>
	\$595 billions	100%

The \$131 billions expended on food under these projections compares with an actual 1967 expenditure of \$96 billions.

The \$65 billions expended on clothing under these projections compares with an actual 1967 expenditure of \$50 billions.

The \$95 billions expended on housing under these projections compares with an actual 1967 expenditure of \$71 billions.

Some of the more specific categories show very much of the same magnitudes of change. For example, under these projections, \$24 billions would have been spent on gas and oil, in comparison with \$17½ billions which was the actual 1967 figure.

5. These estimates are, of course, illustrative and exploratory. They are actually quite conservative. They are arithmetic and bypass the human values involved.

What would happen in real life if another one-third cut in the incidence of poverty would actually take place soon would be a virtual explosion in expenditures based on both the physical and psychological impact of changing jobs and income, consummating a rising level of living accentuated by rising expectations of future improvements.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

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12. Cf. reference (9) p. 21.
13. Ibid., pp. 68 and 69.
14. Cf. Ibid., p. 61. New data on patterns of consumer expenditures based on the city worker family budget studies of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (although not yet available by color) can be seen from U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, City Worker's Family Budget, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, Autumn, 1966 (Bulletin No. 1570-1).

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